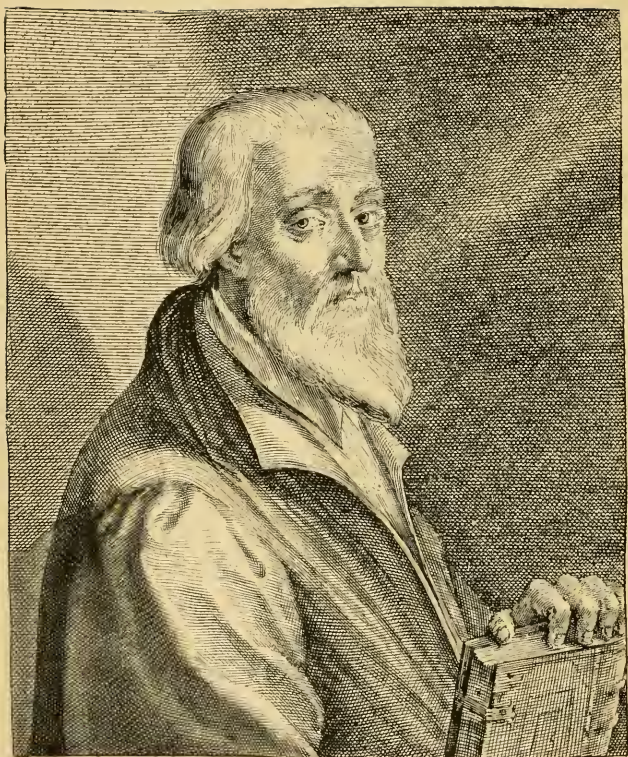




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NICOLAUS RIDLEIVS

*Mens ardet CHRISTVM: torrentur viscera flamma
Hac ferit. aeternum sed calor ille manet. E*

Nicolas Ridley.

BISHOP RIDLEY ON THE LORD'S SUPPER

A BRIEF DECLARATION
OF THE
LORD'S SUPPER

WRITTEN BY
NICHOLAS RIDLEY

BISHOP OF LONDON

REPRINTED, WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES AND APPENDICES,
AND PREFACED BY A LIFE OF THE WRITER

BY

H. C. G. MOULE, D.D.

PRINCIPAL OF RIDLEY HALL, AND FORMERLY FELLOW OF TRINITY
COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

*I will never aenye my Lorde God, and His knowen truthe:
Goddess will bee done in me.*—NICHOLAS RIDLEY, Oct. 16, 1555

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1895

CAROLO GUALTERO MOULE, A.M.,
COLLEGII CORPORIS CHRISTI APUD CANTABRIGIENSES
SOCIO SENIORI,
OPTIMO FRATRI,
CUI ET CANTABRIGIAM NOSTRAM DEBEO,
FRATER GRATUS, OBSERVANS, AMANS,
LIBELLUM DICO

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PREFACE

THE plan of the present work needs little explanation. The motive and centre of the book is the Treatise on the Eucharist written by Bishop Ridley, in prison at Oxford, probably some time in 1554. Besides the matter more immediately connected with this Treatise, the "Biographical Sketch" which fills the first pages of the volume will be found to refer to it, so far as the "Sketch" brings out the history of Ridley's convictions on eucharistic doctrine and illustrates their bearing upon his labours and his sufferings.

The importance of the *Brief Declaration* is considerable. It is the longest and most deliberate of Ridley's extant writings. It seems to have been composed soon after the Disputation at Oxford, when the whole argument had turned for life or death upon the very problems reviewed and discussed in the *Declaration*. And it is the work of

the man who was confessedly the leader of the English Reformers in their movement away from the medieval doctrine. The taunting words of Brookes, Bishop of Gloucester, are well known, when, speaking to Ridley at Oxford, Oct. 1, 1555, he said that "Latimer leaneth to Cranmer, Cranmer to Ridley, and Ridley to the singularity of his own wit."¹ The reference was not to the work of the Reformation in general but to the fact that in the matter of Transubstantiation Ridley, privately convinced in the course of his own reading, had brought Cranmer over, and that Cranmer in his turn, in 1547, had drawn Latimer into agreement with his brethren. Ridley's last and most complete exposition of his convictions has thus an interest peculiar to itself.

This recognized importance of the *Brief Declaration* prompted the numerous reprints which appeared after those first and almost secretly printed issues of which one is here reproduced. The London reprint of 1688² expressly appeals to "the great and eminent authority of the author," who "may justly be considered as the standard of the doctrine of the Church of England at that time," as the reason for reproducing the Treatise just then, at a crisis of controversy. The same estimate

¹ *Works*, 283.

² See below, 86, 309.

appears in the course of an important passage in the late Dr Wordsworth's¹ well-known compilation, *Ecclesiastical Biography*, ii. 547 :

It will be satisfactory and useful to the reader to see all the main points of this great controversy enumerated, and placed before him in one view, as they are stated with great care, distinctness and ability by Ridley, in his valuable *Treatise on the Lord's Supper*, written in prison, and a very short time before his martyrdom.

One reference to Wordsworth's *Biography* may suggest another. The student of the writings and examinations of the Reformers is conscious often of a terrible paradox as he watches the fighting of a mortal battle over propositions of belief some of them as abstruse as possible. And the question has been often asked whether the confessors and sufferers did well to treat such problems as matters of life or death. Wordsworth takes the question up, and quotes a characteristic passage from Fuller (*Holy and Profane State*, pp. 279, 280), who contrasts the reverence for the Reformers in which he was bred with the altered tone of many in his later days, in the Laudian time, when,

Making a coroner's inquest upon [the martyrs'] death, they have found them little better than *felones de*

¹ Chr. Wordsworth, D.D., brother of the Poet ; Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1820—1841.

se, dying in their own blood, for a mere formality, *de modo*, of the *manner* of the Presence, and of the sacrifice in the Sacrament. . . . By such the coronet of martyrdom is plucked off from their memories; and others, more moderate, equally part their death between their enemies' cruelty and their own over-forwardness. Thus the prices of martyrs' ashes rise and fall in Smithfield market. However, their real worth floats not with the people's fancies . . . S. Paul is still S. Paul, though the Lycaonians *now* would sacrifice *to* him, and *presently after* would sacrifice him.

Wordsworth follows the quotation out by "a remark or two in illustration of the grounds on which our martyrs were '*content*' 'to give their bodies to be burned.'" He points out how far the Reformers were from *making* a death-question of their own convictions, however deliberate and Scriptural; and quotes (pp. 94, 95 *notes*) amply to that effect. But the question was forced upon them by their opponents. They were commanded to accept the medieval theory as *de fide*, and in general to bow without appeal to the ruling of the papal Church. They were to accept, on pain of death, as divinely true and necessary, "many doctrines and practices . . . either unwarranted by the Word of God, or actually contrary to it."

They were required to believe, and to profess their belief, where the things required . . . were not exacted

as being in themselves either reasonable or Scriptural, but only as grounded on the despotic and infallible decrees and authority of the Church; which authority therefore . . . they must further submit to accept . . . as a power, on the same grounds, illimitable, and capable of extension indefinitely to all cases . . . How was it possible to admit into the life such obedience, and into the mouth such a confession, and into the heart such a . . . slavery as this; and . . . “who was he that would not, or could not, find in his heart in this cause to be content to die”?

Ridley arrived at that conclusion calmly, soberly, with a noble modesty of spirit, but so as to abide in it, by the grace of God, even to the fire.

His deep conviction, the conviction of one who had been born and bred in medievalism, and had read as widely perhaps as any Englishman of his time, was that the two main points of medieval error were the claims of the Papacy and the tenet of Transubstantiation. He never said that to bow to those claims and hold that tenet was a necessary bar to salvation. But he would die rather than say that to do so was helpful to it, much less requisite. Hooker, a generation later, penetrated perhaps yet deeper into the matter when he pointed¹ to the Roman doctrine of Justification as the inmost error of the system. But it is almost needless

¹ *A Discourse of Justification*, § 5, &c.

to say that the Reformers had that doctrine constantly in view in their opposition to the more conspicuous articles of the medieval creed.

I cannot omit from these prefatory words some expression of the thoughts with which my study of Ridley and of, I think, all his extant writings has filled me towards him. Not many characters in Christian history, so I venture to think, bear scrutiny as his does. *Sans peur et sans reproche* may fairly be written over his whole life. A luminous, penetrating mind ; a temperate and steadfast will ; a heart pure, strong and gentle ; a faith laying firm and quiet hold "within the veil" ; all these gifts of God met in Nicholas Ridley. *Sit anima mea cum Ridleio.*

As chief sources of my information for the Life, I may mention the edition of Ridley's collected Works, by the Rev. H. Christmas, forming one volume of the Series of the Parker Society (a book referred to in this volume as *Works*) ; the Rev. Gloucester¹ Ridley's careful and ample *Life of Bishop Ridley* (London, 1763), referred to in this volume

¹ So he spells his own name on his title-page. It is sometimes written Gloster.

as "G. R."; Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*,¹ in the edition published (in eight volumes) by the Religious Tract Society, with a Preface by the Rev. Dr Stoughton; Strype's *Works*, in the Oxford Edition completed 1828; and the *Athenæ Cantabrigienses* and *Annals of Cambridge*, by the late learned Town-Clerk of Cambridge, Mr C. H. Cooper. Mr Cooper's accounts of Cranmer and Ridley are models of biography in their way, the compressed result of much literary and antiquarian labour. And they are interesting as giving the estimate of the Reformers' characters arrived at by a careful and independent student, who, in Cranmer's case at least, began his study with no strong prejudices in their favour.

I have to thank many friends and correspondents for valuable help in detail. Among them I may be allowed to name Miss Taylor, of Humshaugh House, in Tynedale; Mrs Kendal, of Humshaugh; the Bishop of Liverpool; the Rev. Dr Sinker, Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge; the Librarian to the University, Mr F. J. H. Jenkinson; the Registry, Mr J. W. Clark; the Rev. F. S. Ranken; the Rev. C. H. R. Harper; Mr

¹ See Dr Chr. Wordsworth's high estimate of Foxe's general accuracy, in the Preface to *Ecclesiastical Biography*.

W. F. Wright, of Ridley Hall ; Mr L. J. Causton, of Pembroke College ; my brother, Mr H. J. Moule, and my nephews, Mr H. W. Moule and Mr A. C. Moule.

I owe particular thanks to the Master and Fellows of Pembroke College for their courteous kindness in trusting me with the copy of the *Brief Declaration* preserved in their Library, and in allowing a transcript of it to be taken for this book. The Rev. Dr Searle, Master of Pembroke, besides helping me with much valuable information, kindly placed in my hands his copy of Holland's *Heroölogia* (1625), that the portrait of Ridley there engraved, probably a contemporary likeness, might be reproduced for this book.

RIDLEY HALL, CAMBRIDGE,
Michaelmas, 1895.

ERRATUM.

P. 48, line 15, *For* Hadley *read* Hadleigh, in Suffolk.

NICHOLAS RIDLEY

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

I

NICHOLAS RIDLEY, second son of a father of the same name,¹ was born in Northumberland, at Willimoteswick,² a fortified mansion, of which part is still standing, at the confluence of the Allon with the South Tyne. The ancient family of Ridley, Ridle, or Riddle, still a distinguished house, was powerful among the English Borderers. Sir W. Scott preserves in his *Border Minstrelsy* a rough, vigorous ballad, *The Death of Featherstonhaugh*,³ which within the last century was sung, "till the roof rang," in Northumbrian cottages; the Ridleys are the heroes of it, and it mentions their seats of Willimoteswick,

¹ Cooper, *Athenæ Cantab.*, i. 135. But see below, 300.

² That is, the haunt of the willowmont, guillemot, or rock duck. So Turner, Ridley's friend and countryman, derives the word in his letter to Foxe; *Works*, 492. But see below, 299.

³ See below, 70.

Hardriding, Howden and Waltown, and the family names, Richard, Hugh and William.

Ridley, in his first Letter of Farewell, written within a fortnight of his death, greets by name many of his kinsfolk¹; his "well-beloved and worshipful cousins, Master Nicholas Ridley of Willimountswick," head of the family, and his wife (a daughter of the house of Dacre²); his "well-beloved" brother "John Ridley of the Waltown, and you my gentle and loving sister Elizabeth, whose favourite I ever was," and Elizabeth, "their meek and gentle daughter"; and a brother-in-law, George Shipside,³ second husband of his sister Alice; and the widow of his brother Hugh of Unthank, with her three children; and his "young cousin, Ralph Whitfield."

Of his older relatives, one uncle was a knight, another, Robert Ridley, was a considerable theologian, Doctor in Divinity of Paris as well as of Cambridge; "known, through the writings of Polydore Vergil, throughout all Europe"⁴; "a little man but a great divine." He saw the ability of his nephew, and provided for the expenses of his education at Cambridge and on the Continent.

¹ *Works*, 395, &c.

² It is said (G. R., 595) that Lord Dacre at the last hour offered £10,000 to the Crown to buy the Bishop's pardon.

³ For this name see below, 71. ⁴ *Works*, 492. See below, 71.

Ridley was born probably in 1502 or 1503, so that he was about ten years old when the battle of Flodden was fought, some forty miles away to the north. Indeed his boyhood was full of the sound of border warfare, carried on under the conditions immortalized in the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, where the incidents are dated within his lifetime. In his "Conferences" with Latimer, in the Tower, in 1553 or '4, he recalls these early memories :

In Tynedale, where I was born, not far from the Scottish borders, I have known my countrymen watch night and day in their harness, such as they had, that is, in their jacks, and their spears in their hands, (you call them northern gads,) especially when they had any privy warning of the coming of the Scots. And so doing, although at every such bickering some of them spent their lives, yet by such means, like pretty men, they defended their country. And those that so did, I think that before God they died in a good quarrel, and their offspring and progeny, all the country, loved them the better for their fathers' sakes.

And in the quarrel of Christ our Saviour, in the defence of His own divine ordinances, by the which He giveth us life and immortality, yea, in the quarrel of faith and Christian religion, wherein resteth our everlasting salvation, shall we not watch? Shall we not go always armed, ever looking when our adversary (which, like a roaring lion, seeketh whom he may devour,) shall come upon us by reason of our slothfulness? Yea, and

woe be unto us, if he can oppress us at unawares, which undoubtedly he will do, if he find us sleeping.¹

Ridley was sent to Newcastle School, where "he learnt his grammar with great dexterity"²; and about 1518 he entered Cambridge, as a member of the already distinguished College (or Hall, as then and long afterwards it was called) of Pembroke.³ Erasmus' residence at Cambridge (1511—1514) had given a powerful impetus there, from the intellectual side, to ideas of enquiry and reform; and the more positive religious influences of the German Reformation were soon felt also; the White Horse Inn, near St John's College, came to be called "Germany,"⁴ as the rendezvous of men who watched Luther's early efforts with sympathy. But I see no hint that Ridley was found among these during his earlier Cambridge time.

He took his first degree in 1522,⁵ and was made Fellow of his College in 1524; having declined an invitation to a Fellowship in University College, Oxford.⁶ A little later he was appointed "Master

¹ *Works*, 145. See 398 for an interesting parallel passage.

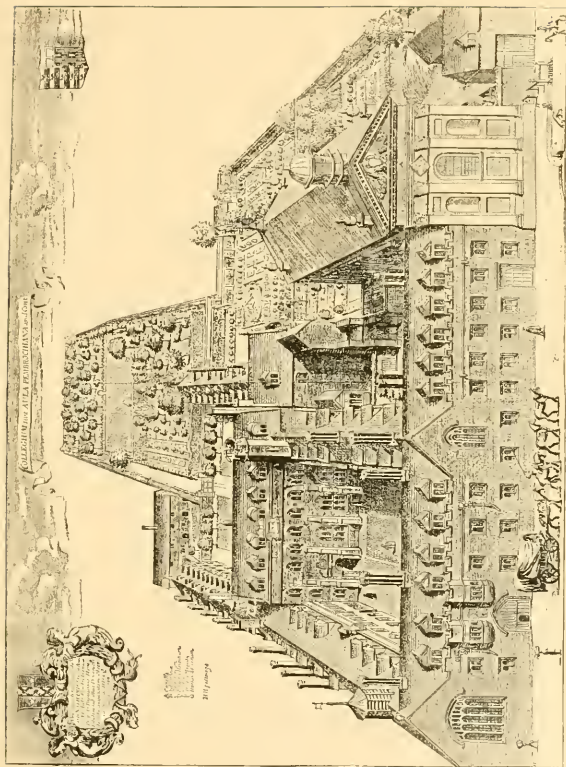
² Foxe, vii. 406; *Works*, p. v.

³ Pembroke gave three martyrs to the Reformation, college friends, Ridley, Bradford and Rogers.

⁴ G. R., 59; Cooper, *Annals*, i. 311. And see below, *Addendum* 1.

⁵ See below, *Addendum* 2.

⁶ G. R., 62. Tanner (*Bibl. Britt. Hibern.*, ed. 1748, 631) says that he resided awhile at Oxford.



PEMBROKE HALL, LATE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.



of Glomery," *magister glomeriæ*, in the University ; an office which originated when the "schools of grammar" had not yet given way to the college-system ; the Master was the head and representative of the old order.¹ By Ridley's time the main function of the office had come to be the instruction of new students in Latin. In 1534 he was Senior Proctor, and Chaplain to the University. In 1540 he was chosen Master of Pembroke Hall.

About 1527 his uncle, then a resident Fellow of Queens', had sent Ridley to read at Louvain, and at the Sorbonne, which may be called the Theological School of Paris. Long after, when writing the story of his own trial for heresy, in 1554, he recalled the "Sorbonical clamours,"² *Sorbonici clamores*, and pronounced them almost moderate compared with the storm that had raged round his own head in the Oxford Schools. The passage is interesting, and I do not think its significance has been seen by the biographers. He speaks of the Sorbonne and its tumults, and then says that at Paris *papismus maxime regnat*, "popery bears full sway" ; as if that fact was a *condition* of the scenes he had witnessed. This

¹ Mullinger, *Hist. of the University*, i., 139, 140, 226 n., 340. The office disappeared in the next century.

² See below, 37.

must mean that the discussions so stormily conducted were not merely academical; they rose direct from the great Controversy of the time; in fact it would appear that he had been present when a Reformer was on his trial. And the dates of French religious history bear this out. Ridley was on the Continent till 1529; and it was in April 1529 that the gifted de Berquin, the friend of Erasmus and of Margaret of Navarre, was strangled and burned at Paris, in the Place de Grève, brought to death at last, after repeated encounters and delays, by his old enemies the doctors of the Sorbonne.¹ It may well be that the young Englishman not only was disgusted by a scene of injustice but owed some mental and spiritual suggestions to the "mouth and wisdom" given in such an hour to the confessor of primeval truth. This can be but a conjecture however; Ridley makes no further reference in treatise or letter to his life and thought in France.

At Cambridge he made a great reputation as an accurate scholar and teacher, Latin and Greek; and as a logician he stood equally high.² Friends and foes in after days united in their witness to his wide and thorough reading and argumentative

¹ See D'Aubigné, *Hist. de la Réf. au temps de Calvin*, liv. ii. ch. xvi.

² *Works*, 492.



THE GATE, PEMBROKE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

strength and skill. Sooner or later, probably after his visit to the Continent, he came more and more to apply his knowledge and training to the study of Holy Scripture itself, in the quiet of his College life. In Pembroke Garden, amidst many modern changes, a walk is still shewn called Ridley's Walk ; tradition says that there he paced up and down committing Scripture to memory, a memory famous for its grasp. Let him speak again for himself, as he bids a last adieu to University and College :

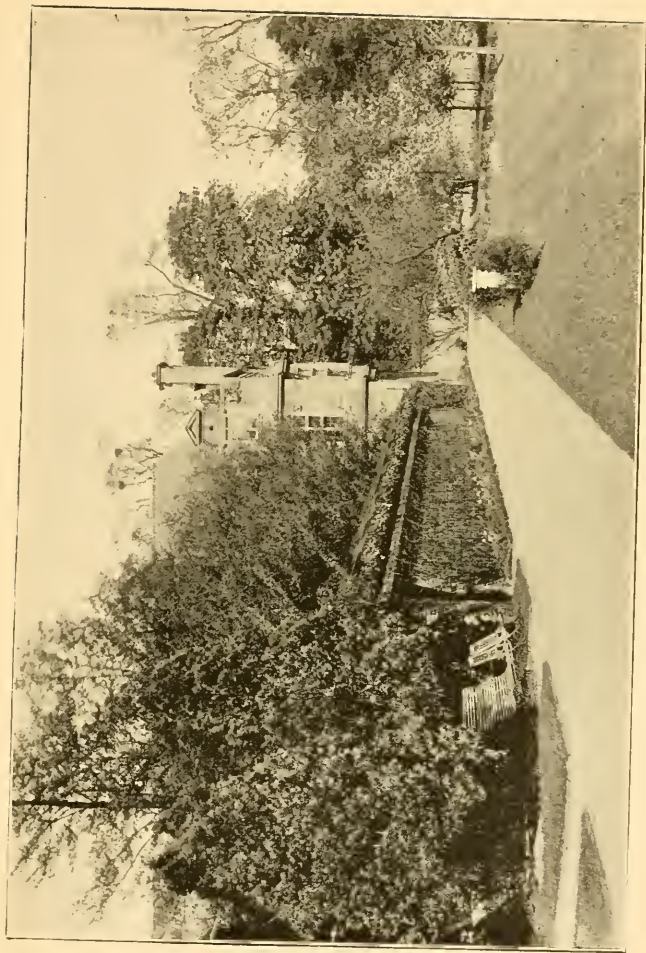
Farewell, Cambridge, my loving mother and tender nurse ! If I should not acknowledge thy manifold benefits, yea, if I should not for thy benefits at the least love thee again, truly I were to be accounted ungrate and unkind. What benefits hadst thou ever, that thou usest to give and bestow upon thy best beloved children, that thou thoughtest too good for me ? Thou didst bestow on me all thy school degrees ; of thy common offices, the Chaplainship of the University, the office of the Proctorship, and of a common Reader ; and of thy private commodities, and emoluments in colleges, what was it that thou madest me not partner of ? First, to be Scholar, then Fellow ; and after my departure from thee thou calledst me again to a Mastership of a right worshipful College. I thank thee, my loving mother, for all this thy kindness ; and I pray God that His laws, and the sincere Gospel of Christ, may ever be truly taught and faithfully learned in thee,

Farewell, Pembroke Hall, of late mine own College, my cure and my charge ! What case thou art in now, God knoweth ; I know not well. Thou wast ever named, sithens I knew thee (which is now a thirty years ago,) to be studious, well-learned, and a great setter forth of Christ's Gospel and of God's true Word : so I found thee, and, blessed be God, so I left thee indeed. Woe is me for thee, mine own dear College, if ever thou suffer thyself by any means to be brought from that trade. In thy orchard (the walls, butts, and trees, if they could speak, would bear me witness,) I learned without book almost all Paul's Epistles, yea and I ween all the canonical Epistles, save only the Apocalypse. Of which study, although in time a great part did depart from me, yet the sweet smell thereof, I trust, I shall carry with me into heaven ; for the profit thereof I think I have felt in all my lifetime ever after ; and I ween of late (whether they abide there now or no I cannot tell,) there was that did the like. The Lord grant that this zeal and love toward that part of God's Word, which is a key and a true commentary to all Holy Scripture, may ever abide in that College so long as the world shall endure.¹

II

BEFORE his election to the Mastership of his College, Ridley, as he has just told us, had ceased to reside in it. Cranmer had taken notice of

¹ *Works*, 406.



RIDLEY'S WALK, IN THE GARDEN OF PEMROKE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.



his sympathies with the cause of Reform¹; and in 1539 he made him one of his chaplains, and nearly at the same time gave him the vicarage of Herne, in Kent. There for several years he principally resided, even when he was Master of Pembroke, and he did not resign the vicarage till after his consecration to Rochester.

The times were not easy for a parish priest who wished for reform; the reactionary Six Articles date from the year after Ridley's institution at Herne, and while he was still Vicar Ann Ayscough was burned in London for denying the bodily Presence in the Eucharist. But Ridley was undisturbed, though he was criticized, when he caused the *Te Deum* to be sung in English, and when he strove to fulfil his ministry, so he says in the Farewell,² "not after the popish trade but after Christ's Gospel"; so preaching that people flocked to Herne Church from all the Kentish countryside.³ He mentions "the lady Phines," or Fiennes, as a parishioner to whom under God

¹ In 1534 Ridley, with almost the entire Senate of the University, had signed the decree against the Papal Supremacy. But he must have been known as a friend to reformation by signs more distinctive than this.

² *Works*, 407.

³ G. R., 142. We have ample witness to Ridley's power as a preacher. But not even a fragment of a sermon remains.

his pastoral labour had brought a divine message. Meanwhile he was reading, and among the books he studied was a short treatise on the holy Eucharist, written in the ninth century but not printed till the sixteenth; the work of a French monk, Ratramnus, commonly called Bertram in Ridley's time, *On the Body and Blood of the Lord*.¹ Nothing is known for certain of the circumstances under which he met with the book. For some years it had circulated among the foreign Reformers, and in 1545, the year when Ridley first read it, the grave controversy on the Eucharist, in which Luther and the Swiss had now long opposed each other, had come to a crisis²; almost certainly this would draw his attention, and dispose a man so reverent and also so candid to examine a book often appealed to in the dispute, and which was written by an ancient. However, he did examine it, and the result was important. His belief, hitherto unbroken, that the tenet of Transubstantiation was primitive and for all the first ages universal was now shaken, and at last dispelled; for here was an orthodox teacher, appealed to as an authority in his day, who did not indeed refute Transubstantiation in its mature

¹ See Appendix i. for the contents and history of the book.

² See below, 264.

form, for that form was developed long after his time, but who criticized and exposed as an innovation a theory which was to all intents the same. Evidently in the ninth century a man was not abhorred as a heretic for denying that the consecrated elements "are" in literal fact the Body and Blood of the Lord. "Bertram" argued that they "are" indeed the sacred Things, yet "not in verity but in figure"; and Bertram posed not as a suspected theorist but as a representative theologian, consulted by king and prelate on the great problems of the faith.

"This Bertram," he said at Oxford, nine years later, "was the first that pulled me by the ear, and that brought me from the common error of the Romish Church, and caused me to search more diligently and exactly both the Scriptures and the writings of the old ecclesiastical Fathers in this matter."¹ Ridley left the retirement of his vicarage not only convinced that Transubstantiation was not Scriptural nor primitive, but armed for discussion by a special study of early Christian literature; where he found certainly not always one type of sacramental language but always reason to think that the foundation-thought of the Fathers was not that

¹ See Appendix i. for Ridley's other testimonies.

of the subtle would-be literalists of the medieval Schools. The "Body" and the "Blood" of the Christian Sacrament were not identically the Body and the Blood of the Passion; they effectually represented them to faith, and so borrowed their sacred names. And reverence quite as much as reason demanded that that profound distinction should be remembered and enforced.

This momentous change did not terminate in Ridley's mind and personal teaching. He went with it to the Archbishop, who had hitherto not only held the current theory but held it with a jealous dread of change. In 1537 Cranmer, already the friendly correspondent of foreign Reformers, had received from Joachim Vadian, of St Gallen,¹ a learned layman, a copy of his *Aphorisms*, in which the case against Transubstantiation was stated. Cranmer replied with courtesy, but with a certain sternness of regret that Vadian should thus meddle with a fundamental. "Your argument altogether displeases me," he writes, *argumentum tuum in toto mihi displicet*; and he will have nothing to say to it in concession.² But the weight of Ridley's mind and character induced him, now eight years later, to review

¹ See below, 261.

² Cranmer, *Works* (*Remains, &c.*), 342.

the matter; and "by sundry persuasions and authorities of doctors he drew the Archbishop quite from his old opinion"¹; and to such purpose that within the next few years Cranmer had written his own masterly treatise on the Eucharist, so much in the sense of Ridley's new convictions that Ridley was often credited (to his own loyal indignation) with the real authorship of the book.²

III

IN January 1547 Edward succeeded his father, and Ridley, already designated, though not formally, for the see of Rochester, was consecrated in September, with the medieval ritual.³

As Bishop he enjoined the administration of the Eucharist in both kinds, and forbade solitary masses as alien from the institution of Christ. On the other hand, when the ribaldry of some wild sectaries was making mockery of the Ordinance altogether, he preached at Paul's Cross a sermon on reverence so urgent in its assertion of the divine greatness of the Sacrament that he was accused afterwards of having actually taught Transub-

¹ Foxe, viii. 57.

² See e. g. *Works*, 160.

³ In June he had preached the funeral sermon of Francis I.

stantiation to the people ; an incident not without suggestion in the history of sacramental doctrine.¹

1548 saw the preparation of the first English Prayer Book, and Ridley was on the commission from the first. We know little in detail of his hand in the work ; perhaps nothing beyond the part he took in the remarkable Debate in the Lords on the nature of the Eucharistic Presence, when on three days, Dec. 15, 17, 18, the Bishops of the "old" and the "new" schools reasoned against each other, with occasional interpellations by Somerset and Warwick, and in presence of the Commons. The Bishop of Rochester, *Roffensis*, appears as a principal speaker on the "new" side in the contemporary report of this Debate recently discovered by Father Gasquet.²

In 1549 he was associated with Cranmer and others as examiner and judge of Joan of Kent, the anabaptist prophetess ; and concurred, alas, in the doom which consigned her (a year later, after Cranmer and Ridley, at their own houses, had used every persuasion and entreaty with her in her delusion) to the terrible death which was to be their own. We may too easily excuse by the beliefs of the time such tremendous mistakes of conscience ; but we cannot judge them wholly by

¹ See below, 32.

² See below, Appendix iv.

the standard of an age when the application of some Christian principles has come to be better understood.

The same year saw him again at Cambridge, as a Commissioner to the University on questions of academical legislation, and also as president in a scholastic discussion on the Eucharist. In this latter matter it was his part to close the debate by a "Determination," or summing-up and award; this is preserved (perhaps with some abridgement) in an English version.¹ He decides against Transubstantiation and also against a propitiatory sacrifice by the priest. Pilkington, afterwards Professor and Bishop, who was present, says that Ridley "made all things so clear in his Determination that they were so convinced that some of them would have turned the Archbishop's book of that subject into Latin."²

As Commissioner he had one difficult work to

¹ *Works*, 171, &c.

² Strype, *Mem. Eccl.*, ii. 329. It was to this Determination that Langdale, who had disputed on the other side, wrote an answer; prepared, and authorized (by the French King), in 1553, but not printed till 1556, when Ridley "could make no reply" (Strype, *ibid.*). Bishop Tanner (*Bibliotheca Britanico-Hibernica*, 631) says in mistake that Langdale's book was written against the *Brief Declaration*. See further below, 302. Cheke rendered Cranmer into Latin.

do ; to oppose the Protector in a scheme to abolish Clare Hall (now Clare College), merging it with Trinity Hall, while the bulk of its property would be appropriated of course by the spoilers of the Church and the Schools. Ridley's letter of protest¹ asserts with respectful firmness the right of the matter ; Somerset makes a halting reply,² alleging as a precedent the recent foundation of Trinity College by the fusion of two older Houses, and affirming that the interests of theological study will not suffer. The Bishop carried his point, and Clare College still stands and flourishes.

To Ridley and his friends the anguish was great as they watched the bold iniquity of almost all the patrician favourers (so reputed) of the Reformation. It was a double grief ; the revenues of religion and education were plundered everywhere for the most sordid personal ends, and all the while a sacred cause was dragged in the mire by the wickedness of its nominal adherents. Ridley did not look on in silence. "Cranmer and *another*," he writes in his *Lamentation*, "were in high displeasure" for protesting against the Duke of Somerset ; "England, even of thy greatest magistrates" almost all resisted the appeal of right, "except the King's Highness then, that innocent, that godly hearted

¹ *Works*, 327.

² *Works*, 505.

and peerless young Christian prince.”¹ He speaks of Lever, Bradford and Knox as unsparing denouncers of the evil. Latimer, in one of the prison Conferences with Ridley, says in his energetic way that “our nobility will not have that religion that hath the Cross annexed unto it.”²

IV

IN 1550 Bonner was deprived of the see of London, for refusal to use or countenance the new Book of Prayer, and was placed in a mild confinement. Ridley was his successor, and was enthroned in St Paul’s, April 12; the “*Te Deum* was in English, with organs playing and the choir singing.”³ Taking possession of Fulham, he was scrupulously careful to respect his predecessor’s private property, and finding Bonner’s aged mother, and Mrs Mungey his sister, left unprotected, he made them almost free of his home. Mrs Bonner had always the best place at the table; when a Lord of the Council was at dinner with the Bishop the rule was still unbroken; “By your lordship’s favour this

¹ *Works*, 59, 60.

² *Works*, 113.

³ G. R., 297.

place, of right and custom, is for my mother Bonner.”¹

At St Paul's he gathered round him as chaplains and prebendaries some of the best of the reforming clergy, among them two friends of his college life, Rogers, afterwards the first Marian martyr, and the heavenly minded Bradford, for whom his affection to the last was ardent, and who deserved all the love that even Ridley could give him. In his early days at London he had the pain of opposing his friend Hooper,² elected to the see of Gloucester.³ Hooper refused to be consecrated in the vestments then in use; Ridley, supported amongst others by Bucer, then Regius Divinity Professor at Cambridge,⁴ insisted upon the importance of law and order in the Church as against personal scruples on a secondary matter. Hooper, who was imprisoned awhile for contumacy, came at last to the same view, and was duly consecrated. Five years later he preceded Ridley through the gate of fire; and Ridley in a letter from Oxford makes moving allusion to their old difference: “However in time past, in smaller matters, your

¹ *Works*, p. viii.

² Or Hoper, as the name was habitually spelt.

³ G. R., 309.

⁴ P. Martyr also, then Oxford Professor, wrote that Hooper's action was “not approved by the more pious.”

wisdom and my simplicity have in some points varied, now be you assured that even with my whole heart I love you.¹”

In the visitation of the diocese, as it is well known, he took the strong measure of enjoining the removal of altars from churches and the substitution everywhere of the holy Table. He did this, as far as we can gather, with the expressed but unwritten support and indeed instance of the King. The visitation was held in June; the Order in Council was drawn and issued in November.²

England was swept in 1551 by the plague known as “English sweat,” *sudor Anglicus*, the terror which in 1529 had broken up the Conference at Marburg when Luther and Zwingel met.³ Among other notable deaths, two young dukes of Suffolk, brothers, died at Buckden within a few hours of each other.⁴ In the awful visitation men felt the hand of God, and Ridley called on his preachers (July 25) to summon them everywhere to repentance. In the autumn a different scene appears; the Queen Regent of Scotland, returning from France, is entertained at Fulham by the Bishop.⁵

¹ *Works*, 355.

² G. R., 328. See Appendix iv. for extracts from Ridley’s “Reasons and Injunctions.”

³ See below, Appendix iii.

⁴ Strype, *M. E.*, ii. 1. 491.

⁵ G. R., 364.

The problem of "the unemployed" was urgent in the middle of the sixteenth century. Ridley in London had seen with distress the vast crowds of "vagabonds," and the harsh but ineffectual attempts of the law to reduce their numbers, or to expel them. "This point he turned over in his thoughts, and finding the rapacity of the courtiers was still wresting everything from the King which they could, at cheap pennyworths; and knowing that there was an old decayed house of the King's in the city which might be very servicable for this purpose, and which some one was at that time, about purchasing; he wrote a letter to Sir W. Cecil, the King's Secretary, to assist him in this matter:

"Good Mr Cecil, I must be a suitor to you in our good Master Christ's cause; I beseech you to be good to Him. The matter is, Sir, alas, He hath lain too long abroad, as you do know, without lodging, in the streets of London, but hungry, and naked and cold. Now, thanks be to Almighty God, the citizens are willing to refresh Him, and to give Him both meat, drink, clothing and firing; but alas, Sir, they lack lodging for Him. For in some one house I dare say they are fain to lodge three families under one roof. Sir, there is a wide, large, empty house of the King's Majesty's, called Bridewell, that would wonderfully well serve to lodge Christ in, if

He might find such good friends in the court to procure in His cause. Surely I have such a good opinion of the King's Majesty that if Christ had such faithful and hearty friends who would heartily speak for Him He should undoubtedly speed at the King's Majesty's hands. Sir, I have promised my brethren the citizens to move you, because I do take you for one that feareth God, and would that Christ should lie no more abroad in the streets." ¹

The letter is not dated ; it seems to belong to the time just before the incident next told. In March 1553, the young King, evidently sinking, unable to go to Westminster, "ordered both Houses to attend him at Whitehall." There the Bishop of London preached, on practical charity ; and after sermon Edward called for him privately in the Gallery, to tell him how the message had moved him, how he felt himself to be "debtor to all that are miserable," and that he asked now for instructions how to act upon the conviction. The Bishop, silent awhile with emotion, "at last, tears and words breaking out together," begged time to consult the citizens, particularly Sir George Barnes, Lord Mayor ; and the result was that the King granted Grey Friars' Church, Newgate, and its

¹ G. R., 377, and *Works*, 535 (Appendix).

revenues, as an asylum for the innocently helpless ; St Bartholomew's, Smithfield, for the sick and wounded ; and Bridewell for the correction of criminal idlers. With his dying hand Edward wrote down "4000 marks by year" as the allotted revenue of these charities, and in his will pressed the speedy execution of the plan ; which was in the end confirmed by Mary.¹

Returning a little, we find the Bishop on All Saints' Day, 1552, using in St Paul's the revised Book of Prayer, duly habited in the simpler vestments which it prescribed, and preaching in the afternoon at the Cross "till almost 5 o'clock," so that torches were lighted here and there amidst the concourse.

Just before the King's death, so we gather from an allusion in the first *Farewell*,² he was nominated to the princely Bishopric of Durham, where he would have lived near his own Tynedale as its chief pastor in Christ. But this was never to be.

We may properly place here, before closing this fragmentary notice of his episcopal labours, some

¹ G. R., 397—399.

² "It hath pleased God to call me to a greater honour and dignity than ever I did enjoy before, either in Rochester, or in the see of London, or ever should have had in the see of Durham, whereunto I was last of all elected and named." *Works*, 397, 405.

extracts from an anonymous account, preserved by Foxe,¹ of his life and habits about this time. The picture bears truth as well as affection upon its face :

He was translated to the See and Bishopric of London in King Edward's days.

In which calling and offices he so travailed and occupied himself by preaching and teaching the true and wholesome doctrine of Christ, that never good child was more singularly loved of his dear parents than he of his flock and diocese. Every holiday and Sunday he lightly preached in some place or other, except he were otherwise letted by weighty affairs and business ; to whose sermons the people resorted, swarming about him like bees, and coveting the sweet flowers and wholesome juice of the fruitful doctrine ; which he did not only preach, but showed the same by his life, as a glittering lantern to the eyes and senses of the blind, in such pure order and chastity of life (declining from evil desires and concupiscences), that even his very enemies could not reprove him in any one iota thereof.

Besides this he was passingly well learned ; his memory was great, and he of such reading withal that of right he deserved to be comparable to the best of this our age, as can testify as well divers his notable works, pithy sermons, and sundry his disputations in both the Universities, as also his very adversaries, all which will say no less themselves. . . .

Now will I speak something further particularly of

¹ vii. 406, &c.

his person and conditions. He was a man right comely and well proportioned in all points, both in complexion and lineaments of the body. He took all things in good part, bearing no malice nor rancour from his heart, but straightways forgetting all injuries and offences done against him.

He using all kinds of ways to mortify himself, was given to much prayer and contemplation : for duly every morning, as soon as his apparel was done upon him, he went forthwith to his bedchamber, and there upon his knees prayed the space of half an hour, which being done immediately he went to his study (if there came no other business to interrupt him,) where he continued till ten of the clock, and then came to common prayer, daily used in his house. The prayers being done he went to dinner, where he used little talk, except otherwise occasion by some had been ministered, and then was it sober, discreet and wise, and sometimes merry, as cause required.

The dinner done, which was not very long, he used to sit an hour or thereabouts talking or playing at the chess ; that done, he returned to his study, and there would continue, except suitors or business abroad were occasions of the contrary, until five of the clock at night, and then would come to common prayer, as in the forenoon, which being finished he went to supper, behaving himself there as at his dinner before ; after supper recreating himself in playing at chess the space of an hour, he would then return again to his study ; continuing there till eleven of the clock at night, which was his common hour to go to bed, then saying his prayers upon his knees, as in the morning when he rose. Being at

his manor of Fulham, as divers times he used to be, he read daily a lecture to his family at the common prayer, beginning at the Acts of the Apostles, and so going throughout all the Epistles of St Paul, giving to every man that could read a New Testament, hiring them besides with money to learn by heart certain principal chapters, but especially the thirteenth chapter of the Acts; reading also unto his household oftentimes the one hundred and first Psalm, being marvellous careful over his family, that they might be a spectacle of all virtue and honesty to others. To be short, as he was godly and virtuous himself, so nothing but virtue and godliness reigned in his house, feeding them with the food of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

His friend Turner's account of him to Foxe¹ accords well with this picture—

In his manners he was most placid and saintly, yet without any hypocrisy or monastic severity; very often he would exercise himself with me both with the bow and at hand-ball.² Of his beneficence towards the poor, if there were no other witness, I desire to bear my public testimony that, before he had arrived at any ecclesiastical dignity, he would take me with him to the nearest hospital, and when I had not wherewithal to give to the poor, he, in addition to what he largely for his means distributed, would often supply me with somewhat to bestow upon them.

¹ *Works*, 489, 493. The account is given in both Latin and English.

² *Arcu et pila palmaria*. Perhaps the modern "fives" is the "hand-ball" named here.

V

THE King died, July 6, 1553, and the scene changed at once and for ever for Ridley. Like Cranmer, with great misgivings, and under the pathetic force of Edward's appeals, he had taken the side of Jane, though he cannot possibly have trusted as Edward did the character and purposes of Northumberland. In July he preached by command at the Cross against Mary's (and also Elizabeth's) claims, but was heard with unwonted and ominous impatience by the people.¹ Before the end of the month all was practically over for Jane; and Ridley went at once to Framlingham, to make his submission to the Sovereign whom God's will had assigned to England. Once before, at least, he had met her in personal colloquy, in September 1552, at Hunsdon, in Hertfordshire, when he, "lying at his house at Hadham," had come to pay his respects, and to offer to preach before the Princess. She welcomed him with courtesy, but when it came to the question of the sermon her manner altered, and in effect she bade him begone.² Now he met with the reception he must have expected; he was ordered off at once,

¹ G. R., 414.

² *Works*, p. x, n.

“on a lame horse,” to London, and committed on charge of treason to the Tower, soon to be joined there by the Archbishop and Latimer. Many of the best sons of England have entered the dark castle of the Tower

Under that gate misnamed, thro’ which of yore
Went Sidney, Russell, Raleigh, Cranmer, More.

The man who was lodged there now bore a name brightest even among such peers.

In the Tower Ridley and his friends remained for nine months. Out of doors events went fast ; the failure of Wyatt’s rebellion in January 1554 crowded the prisons ; so that “it chanced, in Lent, by reason of the tumult stirred up in Kent, there was so many prisoners in the Tower, that my lord of Canterbury, Master Latimer, Master Bradford and I, were put altogether in one prison, where we remained almost till Easter.”¹

At first Ridley was imprisoned with severity ; after two months he was “granted the liberty of the Tower,” and enjoyed it for about half a year. Then his refusal to go to Mass in the chapel² was resented, and his last weeks were again a heavy time.

The Reformers at once took every occasion of consultation, theological and spiritual. When shut

¹ *Works*, 390.

² G. R., 434.

up separately they were able to communicate by writing, helped by friendly attendants, particularly by Augustine Berneher, Latimer's Swiss servant ; to this we owe the preservation of those "Conferences" between Latimer and Ridley which fill many pages in the *Works*, and which are full alike of religious and of human interest. With characteristic modesty and loyalty Ridley, the more learned man, but younger, and conscious of Latimer's practical power, turns to the veteran with entreaties for mental and spiritual help, and gets in answer sheets "blotted" with the most nervous English ever written, full of good sense, and of a loving deference too. Ridley sends to Cranmer and Latimer together¹: "Write again, I beseech you, fathers and brothers, most dearly beloved in Christ. Spare not my paper, for I look ere it be long that our common enemy," Gardiner, "will first assault me ; and I wish, from the bottom of my heart, to be holpen not only by your prayers but also by your wholesome counsels." And again : "Except the Lord assist me with this gracious aid in the time of His service, I know I shall play but the part of a white-livered knight."² He looks "daily when Diotrephes, or Antonius,"³ Gardiner, "shall assault me ; wherefore I pray you, good

¹ *Works*, 110.² *Works*, 117.³ See below, 30.

father, for that you are an old soldier and an expert warrior, and God knoweth I am but a young soldier and as yet of small experience in these feats, help me, I pray you, to buckle my harness." So he felt and wrote in private; it was the true preparation for the invincible and collected courage and mental address with which he met the "Antonians" when, in God's time, the struggle came. Latimer answers: "Good my lord, be of good cheer in the Lord, with due consideration what He doth require of you and what He doth promise you. . . Be at a point what ye will stand unto; stick unto that, and let them both say and do what they list. . . Let them not deceive you with their sophistical sophisms and fallacies; you know that many false things have more appearance of truth than things that be most true. . . Fear of death doth most persuade a great number. Be well ware of that argument. . . Lo, Sir, here I have blotted your paper vainly, and played the fool egregiously. But so I thought better than not to do your request at this time. Pardon me, and pray for me. . . For I am sometime so fearful that I would creep into a mouse-hole; sometime God doth visit me again with His comfort. . . Fare you well."¹

¹ *Works*, 116.

In these written conversations they went over much of the controversial ground covered afterwards in the public Disputation at Oxford, and which Ridley retraced later in the *Brief Declaration*. In particular the book under the name of Marcus Antonius,¹ in which Gardiner had replied to Cranmer, gave exercise and direction to their thoughts; many pages are covered by Ridley's statements to Latimer of the "objections of the Antonian," followed by his own answers and Latimer's comments.

Somewhere in the milder period of his imprisonment we must place another "conference"; a conversation on the eucharistic Presence, held at the dinner-table of the Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir John à Bruges, or Bridges, afterwards Lord Chandos. Ridley was one of a company of some six or seven; among them were the Lieutenant's brother Thomas, Sir John Bourn, Secretary to the Queen, Chomley, late Chief Justice, and Dr Fecknam. We have Ridley's own account of the occasion²; important theologically, as we compare the comparatively rapid statements and reasonings with the more careful presentation of them in the Disputation and the *Declaration*, and interesting too as a specimen of narrative at once vivid

¹ See below, 176.

² *Works*, 155, &c.

and quiet, shewing the insight into character and the sense of humour which marked Ridley to the last. After some preliminary discussion the question of Transubstantiation comes up explicitly :

“Sir,” quoth I, “ye know, I think, that Tertullian in plain words speaketh thus ; *Hoc est corpus meum, id est, figura corporis mei* ; ‘This is my Body, that is to say, a figure of my Body.’ And Gelasius saith plainly, that *substantia panis manet* ; ‘the substance of bread remaineth.’ And Origen saith likewise, *Quod sanctificatur secundum materiam ingreditur stomachum et vadit in secessum* ; ‘That which is sanctified, as touching the matter or substance, passeth away in the draught.’” This when I had Englished, Mr Secretary said to me, “You know very well as any man,” etc. ; and here, if I would, I might have been set in a foolish Paradise of his commendation of my learning, and *quod essem vir multe lectionis*, “a man of much reading.” But this I would not take at his hand. He set me not up so high, but I brought myself as low again : and here was much ado.

At a later stage in the conversation,

“In faith,” quoth Master Pope, “I would give forty pound that ye were of a good opinion. For I ensure you, I have heard you, and had an affection for you.”

“I thank you, Master Pope, for your heart and mind ; and ye know,” quoth I, “I were a very fool if I would in this matter dissent from you, if that in my conscience the truth did not enforce me so to do. For I wis (as ye

do perceive, I trow,) it is somewhat out of my way, if I would esteem worldly gain."

"What say ye," quoth he, "to Cyprian? Doth he not say plainly, *Panis quem dedit Dominus, non effigie sed natura mutatus, omnipotentia Verbi factus est caro*: 'The bread which the Lord did deliver, being changed not according to the form, but according to the nature thereof, by the omnipotent Word is made flesh'?"

"True, Sir, so he doth say, and I answer even the same which once by chance I preached at Paul's Cross in a sermon, for the which I have been as unjustly and as untruly reported as any poor man hath been. For there I, speaking of the Sacrament, and inveighing against them that esteemed it no better than a piece of bread, told even the same thing of *pœnitentes, audientes, catechumeni, energumeni*, that I spake of before; and I bade them depart as unworthy to hear the mystery; and then I said to those that be *sancti*, Cyprian the Martyr shall tell you how it is that Christ calleth it, saying *Panis est corpus, cibus, potus, caro*, etc., 'Bread is the body, meat, drink, flesh,' because that unto this material substance is given the property of the thing whereof it beareth the name; and this place then took I to utter, as the time would then suffer, that the material substance of bread doth remain." Mr Fecknam (which, as is reported to me, did belie me openly in the same matter at Paul's Cross) heard all this my talk as red as scarlet in his face, and herein answered me never one word.

At the close :

Here, when we spake of laws and decrees, Mr Roger Chomley thought himself much wronged that he could

not be suffered to speak, the rest were so ready to interrupt him ; and then he up and told a long tale what laws were of Kings of England made against the Bishop of Rome, and was vehement to tell how they alway of the clergy did fly to him. And here, because he seemed to speak of many things beside our purpose, whereof he spake before, he was answered of his own fellows, and I let them talk.

VI

THE charge of treason against the Reformers was withdrawn, and they were to be tried for heresy alone before "the unjust tribunals under change of times"; death by the fire would be the sequel. It was arranged that not in London but in full academic form at Oxford the accused should meet their judges; and by about the middle of March 1554, leaving Bradford behind them to be carried from the Tower to the King's Bench, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, with Judge Hales for their companion in trouble, arrived in Oxford, after the two days' journey which then intervened. Their treatment was harsh. They carried scarcely anything with them but the clothes they wore. The men who had waited on them in

the Tower were dismissed, and strangers placed about them; and at Oxford they were sent to different prisons; Cranmer to Bocardo,¹ the city-gaol, over the north gate, ("a filthy and stinking prison," is Foxe's description of it; words only too likely to be true of any prison of those days); Ridley to the house of the Mayor, Edmund Irish, who lived close to Bocardo; and Latimer elsewhere. About a month later the theological judges met; a deputation of Doctors from Cambridge, headed by Young, the Vice-Chancellor, Ridley's successor as Master of Pembroke Hall, arrived April 13; they were received "with a dish of apples and a gallon of wine,"² and some of the company were provided with copes lent by their Oxford brethren. Among the thirty-three Commissioners some were scholars, who could deal with a Greek quotation, but the course of the proceedings shews that these were relatively few. The president was Hugh Weston, Rector of Lincoln, Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation, and afterwards Dean of Westminster; curiously described as a

¹ *Bokardo* is a jargon-word in *Barbara celarent*, marking the sixth mood of the third logical figure. I do not know how the word came to be a soubriquet for the gaol. For Anthony à Wood's conjectures see below, 303.

² Foxe, vi. 440.

stammerer "but otherwise a bold man"; not deficient in ability, but by no means a finished scholar. Unkind hearers refused to forget that he had lately, in full audience at Paul's Cross, explained the word *anthropomorphitæ* to mean "devourers of men"¹; and when Latimer, who was not skilled in Greek, met the statement that there was no Scripture for giving the Eucharist to women with the shrewd answer² that the Latin of 1 Cor. xi. 28 reads *homo*, and that *homo* includes both genders, Weston could not produce the Greek, and could only assert that the Latin was a false translation! He raised "loud laughter" by a strange *malapropos* in his opening address at Cranmer's trial; informing the audience that they were met "to confound the detestable heresy of Christ's Body in the Sacrament."³

The first session was held April 14, Saturday. After a Mass of the Holy Ghost, and a dinner at Lincoln College, the Doctors took their places before the high altar in St Mary's, and one by one the three accused were brought in (Cranmer escorted by "a rout of rusty bill-men") to answer preliminary questions. For Sunday they were left

¹ Strype, *M. E.*, iii. i. 184.

² He had thought this out in the Tower; *Works*, 106.
See further below, 42.

³ Foxe, vi. 444.

alone; on Monday the Archbishop went through his ordeal; Ridley's turn came on Tuesday, the 17th. Of that long and stormy day's work we have two accounts by Ridley's own hand, both in Latin. One, written immediately after, is preserved in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, where I have examined it throughout.¹ A much longer account of the arguments, arranged in complete logical form, was written afterwards by Ridley and conveyed to London, to Bradford, who gave it a vigorous English rendering; Latin and English are both printed in Ridley's *Works*. Later in this volume some extracts from the Bishop's statements and arguments will be found²; here it is enough to say that the *Brief Declaration* may be considered as the connected and deliberate re-assertion of the points defended by the accused in the Disputation at Oxford.

As we read, we seem to be listening to an eager but not often intemperate debate, in which both parties use the weapons of formal logic with skill and care. But other information shews us that Ridley is only reporting the debate as in these respects it should have been; he gives the arguments but leaves out, save here and there, the

¹ See further below, 304.

² See below, 283 &c.

tumult amidst which they were spoken. It was a loud and disgraceful scene. We have Ridley's own account of it in the Preface to his report¹:

I never yet in all my life saw or heard any thing done or handled more vainly or tumultuously than the disputation which was had with me of late in the schools at Oxford. And surely I could never have thought that it had been possible to have found any within this realm, being of any knowledge, learning and ancient degree of school, so brazen-faced and so shameless as to behave themselves so vainly and so like stage-players as they did in that disputation.

The Sorbonical clamours which at Paris, (when popery most reigned,²) I in times past have seen, might be worthily thought, in comparison of this Thrasonical and glorious ostentation, to have had much modesty. Howbeit it was not to be wondered at, for that they which should there have been moderators and rulers of others, and which should have given a good example in word, gravity, etc., as Paul teacheth, gave worst example of all; and did, as it were, blow the trumpet to other, to rail, rage, roar and cry out. By reason whereof, good Christian reader, it is manifest that they never sought for any truth, but only for the glory of the world and a bragging victory. But, besides the innumerable railings, rebukes and taunts, wherewith I was baited on every side, lest our cause, which indeed is God's cause and His

¹ *Works*, 303 &c., 433 &c.

² *Ubi papismus maxime regnat*. See above, 5. Bradford's translation is curiously inaccurate in this one instance.

Church's, should also by the false examples of our disputations be evil spoken of and slandered to the world, and so the verity sustain hurt and hindrance thereby ; I have thought good to write my answers myself, that whosoever is desirous to know them and the truth withal, may thereby perceive those things which were chiefly objected against me, and also, in effect, what was answered of me to every of them. Howbeit, good reader, I confess this to be most true, that it is impossible to set forth either all that was (God knoweth) tumultuously spoken, and like as of mad men objected of so many, which spake oftentimes huddle, so that one could not well hear another ; either all that was answered of me briefly to such and so diverse opponents. Moreover a great part of the time appointed for the disputations was vainly spent in contumelious taunts, hissings, clapping of hands, and triumphs, more than tolerable even in stageplays, and that in the English tongue, to get the people's favour withal. All which things when I with godly grief did suffer, and therewithal did openly bewail and witness, that that company of learned men, and schools which were appointed to grave men and to grave matters, were contaminate and defiled by such foolish and Robinhood pastimes, and that they which were the doers of such things did but thereby openly shew their vanity ; I was so far by my such humble complaint from doing good that I was enforced, what with hissing and shouting, and what with authority, to hear such great reproaches and slanders uttered against me as no grave man without blushing could abide the hearing of the same spoken of a most vile knave against a most wretched ruffian.

At the beginning of the disputation, when I should have confirmed mine answer to the first proposition in few words, and that after the manner of disputations; before I could make an end of my probation, which was not very long, even the Doctors themselves cried out, "He speaketh blasphemies, blasphemies, blasphemies." And when I on my knees most humbly and heartily besought them that they would vouchsafe to hear me to the end, whereat the Prolocutor (something moved, as it seemed) cried out, "Let him read it; let him read it"; yet when I again began to read it there was by and by such a cry and noise, "Blasphemies, blasphemies," as I (to my remembrance) never heard or read the like, except it be one which was in the Acts of the Apostles stirred up of Demetrius the silversmith; and except it were a certain disputation which the Arians had against the orthodox and such as were of godly judgment in Africa, where it is said that such as the presidents and rulers of the disputation were, such was also the end of the disputation; all was done in hurlyburly, and the slanders of the Arians were so outrageous that nothing could quietly be heard. So writeth Victor in the second book of his History. And thus the cries and tumults of these men against me now so prevailed that, whether I would or no, I was enforced to leave off the reading of my probations, although they were but short. And of the truth hereof I have all those that were present, being of any discretion or honesty, to be my witnesses. But hereof will I cease to complain any further.

Foxe¹ preserves a curious independent account of the scenes of those few memorable days, "in a certain letter of a scholar of the University, an eye-witness":

Doctor Ridley, when he heard the Articles read unto him, answered without any delay, saying: They were all false, and said further, that they sprang out of a bitter and sour root. His answers were sharp, witty and very learned. Then did they lay to his charge a sermon that he made when he was Bishop of Rochester, wherein (they said) he spake with the Transubstantiation. He denied it utterly, and asked whether they could bring out any that heard him which would say and affirm with them the same. They could bring no proof of it at all. After that he was asked of one whether he desired not my Lord Chancellor that now is [Gardiner], to stick to the Mass and other things. He said that my Lord would say no such things or words of him; for if he did he reported not the truth of him. Then he was asked whether he would dispute or no. He answered; As long as God gave him life, He should not only have his heart, but also his mouth and pen, to defend His truth; but he required time and books. They said he could not, and that he should dispute on Thursday, and till that time he should have books. He said it was not reason that he might not have his own books, and time also to look (*sic*) his disputations. Then gave they him the articles, and bad him write his mind of them that night, and so did

¹ Ed. 1563, 931 &c.: and see the modern edition, vol. vi., final Appendix.

they command the Mayor to have him from whence he came.

Then was brought to them old Latimer, which had not with them so many words as the other ; his voice was very low, so that I could not hear him as the other, but that I heard him say the articles were all false. Again they told him that he should dispute in them. He said he was almost as meet to dispute as to be a captain of Calais ; but he said that he would declare his mind, either by writing or by word. Furthermore he said he would stand to all that they could lay upon his back. He said also that he could not be suffered to have pen, ink, paper, nor books, never since he was in trouble last, but only the New Testament, which (he said) he had read over seven times deliberately, and yet could not find neither marrow-bones nor sinews of the Mass in it. At which answer they were sore offended ; and Doctor Weston said that he would make him grant that it had both marrow and sinews in the New Testament. Then said Master Latimer, That will you never do, master Doctor ; and so was he commanded to be had to the place where he came fro.

Now for the disputations : on Monday, as it was appointed before, did answer to the same master Doctor Cranmer ; I could not write the arguments, there was such throng of people. They were such as we heard before, and he answered in like manner. And where some have reported him to be utterly unlearned, and not able to understand a Latin text of a Doctor, he hath shewed himself learned both in Latin and Greek, for truly he had a better Latin tongue then diverse that did oppose him. There were sometimes five or six at one

time, so that if he had answered to one, other two or three would have been at him at one time before he had spoken half a sentence.

Then arose there a controversy about the translation of a word in the Bishop of Canterbury's book. It was about *verum* and *vere*, truly or of a truth, which the Bishop said little or nothing differed in sense; and said as far as he remembered it was also in Doctor Smith's book. Then did Doctor Weston bid Doctor Smith answer for himself. He answered never a word. Then Master Price said, by the Canon Law, *Diabolo non permittitur defensio, sed prohibetur*, "To the devil defence must not be given, but taken away from him." For there were so many at him still that it was impossible for any one man to answer directly to them all.

The Doctors of Cambridge brought all the subscriptions of the scholars, and a letter sealed with the University seal, wherein they seemed to lament that these men, being once of their body, now had separated themselves from them and the Church. Here is such subscribing as never hath been seen afore; for they say they will have them to prison out of hand, and the Canon Laws executed upon them, that would not subscribe. All our House have subscribed saving I and my chamberfellow, and we look every hour when we shall not only lose our College but also go to prison, which master Doctor Weston threateneth sore. But if I can escape with losing of my College, he shall as soon cut off my right hand as to make me subscribe. . . .

"And I pray you," said he, "where, Master Latimer, have you in all the New Testament that ever any woman

did communicate?" Then did Master Latimer desire license to speak, and that obtained, put on his spectacles and turned to the xi. chapter of the first to the Corinthians, where Paul sayeth, *Probet seipsum homo, et sic de pane illo edat et calice bibat*. That is, "Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of the bread and drink of the cup." After that he asked Doctor Weston, *Cujus generis homo est?* what gender *man* is? He answered, *Communis generis*. "*Ergo*," said Master Latimer, "there is mention made that a woman should receive the Communion by the Scriptures." And Doctor Weston replied by reprehending the translation, that it had *homo* for *vir*, and brought this argument, that Paul gave that same that Christ gave to His disciples; but Christ gave the Communion to no woman; therefore the same Scriptures ought not to be so large understood. He denied his minor, saying that Christ gave it to His xii. Apostles, which did represent the Church, wherein were women as well as men.

Finally Doctor Weston exhorted him to leave his heresies, saying it would do him no good to see his beard burned with a faggot; and so ended Wednesday's work. It seemed to me and a number more that they caused him to be brought forth for nothing else but to laugh at him and mock him; such was their behaviour in the schools that day.

Doctor Ridley came not forth to oppose, and I cannot tell the cause why, but I think he would have been too good for them. Upon Friday the Commissioners sat in Saint Mary's church, as they did the Saturday before, and Doctor Weston used particularly dissuasions with every of them, and would not suffer them to answer in

any wise, but directly and peremptorily (as his words were) to say whether they would subscribe or no.

Ridley's logical power evidently staggered some of the judges. "If there were an Arian," cried Tresham, Canon of Christ Church, "that had that subtle wit that you have, he might soon shift off the authority of the Scriptures and the Fathers."¹

One other reminiscence of that April day is preserved,² in a passage from a forgotten book, *A Discourse of Peter's Life, Peregrination and Death*, by Chr. Carlile, Fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge; London, 1582. The writer says that he once heard "Dr Smith," one of the Oxford Commission of 1554,³ preach "in Whittington College Church in London, standing in the street called Tower Royal, a little above the Three Cranes in the Vinetree"; and Smith gave an account of his battle with Ridley, in which the sublime legend of the *Domine quo Vadis* is dragged into a coarse and futile argumentative application:

"He whom Christ met at Rome, was at Rome. But Christ met Peter at Rome: *ergo* Peter was at Rome. By this argument I prove two things and singular mysteries of our faith. First that Peter was at Rome, against

¹ *Works*, 245.

² Foxe, vi. 765.

³ He was Master of Whittington College, and Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford.

them that clatter that Peter was never at Rome. Secondly, that if Peter met Christ bodily, as Abdias reporteth, and which I am sure is true, or else such an ancient and holy Father would never have written it ; then consequently He may be as well bodily in the blessed Sacrament as He was met bodily. To this Ridley stood like a block, and, feeling himself convicted, answered nothing. Then said I, *Cur non respondes, hæretice hæreticorum hæreticissime?* Did I not handle him well?

“And thus I confuted Ridley in the audience of a thousand, that he had not one word to say : yet you say that Christ was never on earth since the Ascension bodily : believe with me that He is, under form of bread and wine. Let this argument of mine confound you, as it did Ridley your chief champion.”¹

Sentence was pronounced Friday, April 20 ; the “scholar” quoted above gives the sequel :

The Bishop of Canterbury first speaketh.

“From this your judgment and sentence I appeal to the just judgment of God Almighty, trusting to be present with Him in heaven for whose presence in the altar I am thus condemned.”

Doctor Ridley.

“Although I be not of your company, yet doubt not I but my name is written in another place whither this sentence will send us sooner then we should by the course of nature have come.”

¹ See *Works*, 220, for Ridley's account of this passage with Smith.

Doctor Latimer.

"I thank God most heartily that He hath prolonged my life to this end, that I may in this case glorify God by that kind of death."

Doctor Weston's answer unto Latimer.

"If you go to heaven in this faith, then will I never come thither, as I am thus persuaded."

After the sentence pronounced, they were separated one from the other: videlicet, my Lord of Canterbury was put in Bocardo, D. Ridley was carried to master Shrive's¹ house—master Latimer in master Bailiff's. On Saturday we had Mass, with *ora pro nobis*, with great solemnity. Dr Cranmer was caused to behold it out of Bocardo; Dr Ridley out of the Shrive's house. Latimer also being brought to see that, from the Bailiff's house, thought that he should have gone to burning, and spake to one Augustus Cooper, a catchpole, to make a quick fire. But when he came to Karfox [Carfax] and saw the matter, he ran as fast as his old bones would carry him to one Spenser's shop, and would not look towards it. Last of all, Doctor Weston carried the Sacrament, and four Doctors carried the canopy over him.

Weston's triumph was great no doubt in his own eyes. At the close of the Disputation with Ridley he had cried, in Latin, "Here you see the stubborn, the glorious, the crafty, the unconstant mind of this man; here you see this day that the strength of the truth is without foil. Therefore I beseech you

¹ By "master Shrive" (Sheriff) must be meant the Mayor.

all most earnestly to blow the note." "And he began, and they followed, 'Verity hath the victory, Verity hath the victory,' *Vicit veritas, Vicit veritas.*"¹

VII

A LONG silence, as to contact with the outer world, followed for the three Confessors. The Commissioners left the next day. Glyn, an old Cambridge friend of Ridley's, (now President of Queens', and afterwards Bishop of Bangor,) who had been violent with him in the Disputation, called before he set out and asked for his forgiveness.² Weston departed, without keeping his promise to give Ridley a sight of the notes of his defence (taken by John Jewel, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury); and from a halting-place half-way to London he sent back the solemn protest which Ridley had entreated him, before witnesses, to deliver to the Bishops.³ Not long afterwards Hethe, Bishop of Worcester, whom Ridley had treated with much kindness of old, passed through Oxford, but did not

¹ *Works*, 252.

² See below, 306, for Ridley's notice of this. ³ G. R., 513.

see the prisoners; they remarked that the severity of their ward increased after that day, and the English Prayer Book was taken from them.

University and town "bore them heavily"; so they heard through their jailors. Jewel was forced to fly; he would have fared ill if Augustine Berneher, mentioned often by the martyrs with love and honour, had not contrived to bring him,¹ half dead with exhaustion, to the house of "Mistress Warcup"; an active helper of the sufferers in London.²

The hours were cheered however by the frequent exchange of letters, which somehow were conveyed to and fro, mainly but not only by Berneher's skill and courage. Rowland Taylor, Vicar of Hadley, Northumberland-born like Ridley, heard in the King's Bench of their confession and sentence, and wrote a letter³ worthy of one of the noblest of the Reformers, a man of heroic mould, himself ere long to meet the fire on his own church-green with a faith so triumphant that it broke into jests and pleasantry by the way:⁴

¹ Strype, *M. E.*, III. i. 227.

² Mrs Wilkinson and Mrs Warcup are often named in the martyrs' letters. See Strype, *ut supra*, 224, for a list of such "favourers."

³ Preserved by Strype, *Cranmer*, i. 486.

⁴ See Green, *Short History*, ch. vii. § 2 (vol. ii. 723—725, illustrated edition).

Right Reverend Fathers in the Lord, I wish you to enjoy continually God's grace and peace through Jesus Christ: and God be praised again and again for this your most excellent promotion which ye are called unto at this present, that is, that you are counted worthy to be allowed amongst the number of Christ's records and witnesses. England hath had but a few learned Bishops that would stick to Christ *ad ignem inclusivé*, even to the fire. Once again I thank God heartily in Christ for your most happy onset, most valiant proceeding, most constant sufferings of all such infamies, hissings, clappings, taunts, open rebukes, loss of living and liberty for the defence of God's cause, truth, and glory. I cannot utter with pen how I rejoice in my heart for you three such Captains in the foreward under Christ's cross, banner, or standard in such a cause and skirmish; when not only one or two of our dear Redeemer's strong holds are besieged, but all his chief castles, ordained for our safeguard, are traitorously impugned. This your enterprise in the sight of all that be in heaven, and of all good people on earth, is most pleasant to behold. This is another manner of nobility than to be in the forefront of worldly warfares. For God's sake pray for us, for we fail not daily to pray for you. We are stronger and stronger in the Lord, His name be praised. And we doubt not but ye be so, in Christ's sweet school. Heaven is all and wholly on our side. Therefore rejoice in the Lord alway, and again I say rejoice.

Your assured in Christ,

ROWLAND TAYLOR.

Ridley was constantly at work with his pen, or with a substitute for it; once he was reduced to use a strip of lead from the casement for a pencil.¹ Early in the long Oxford captivity he writes two noble letters to the prisoners for religion in London and elsewhere, "dispersed abroad, but knit together in unity of spirit and of holy religion," "embracing Christ with the Cross," *Christum cum cruce*,² contending "not for any ceremony, but for the very substance of our whole religion, yea, even Christ Himself." He hears from Bradford that the happy fellowship of the imprisoned confessors³ is imperilled by some rash speculators on the mysteries of election and the will, and he laments in reply "the devil's galtropes" (obstacles thrown in the path of cavalry) "that he casteth in our ways by some of his busy-headed youngers."⁴ He is eager that the prisoners who were also scholars should translate; Grimbold, formerly his chaplain, but now, unknown to Ridley, playing a treacherous part, was to do such work if possible; let him turn into English the work of Valla "against that false,

¹ Foxe, viii. 35.

² *Works*, 342, 352.

³ See Strype, *M. E.*, II. ii. 223 for notices of such fellowship. Bradford (Foxe, vii. 234) breaks off a letter "because our common prayer-time calleth me."

⁴ Ridley's essay on election, written at Oxford, is lost. For some remarks of his on the subject see *Works*, 368.

feigned fable forged of Constantinus Magnus and his dotation and glorious exaltation of the see of Rome, and . . . Æneas Sylvius *de gestis Basiliensis Concilii*," and the Confession of the Waldensian Brethren¹; all to be found "in a book set forth by a papist called Ortwinus Gratius, entitled *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum*."² He reports gifts of sympathy which "the condemned heretics at Oxford" receive from time to time; "six royals, six shillings and eightpence" from "my lady's grace," Katherine, duchess of Suffolk³; "a golden token" from Bradford, received with affectionate protests: "what mean you, man? . . . I was so moved with your token that I commanded it straightway to be had to Bocardo, which is our common gaol"⁴; money and other gifts from Lady Vaux, and Lady Vane, Mistress Warcup, Mistress Wilkinson, and others. And again; "From London we have had of late both meat, money and shirts"; "I am sure you have heard of our new apparel, and I doubt not

¹ The *Nobla Leyçon*, once thought to belong to the eleventh century. The late Mr H. Bradshaw (*Memoir*, 87, 88) has shewn that it must be placed in the fifteenth. But in any case it precedes the German Reformation by a long time.

² *Works*, 374. Gratius is a conspicuous personage in the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*.

³ *Works*, 382.

⁴ *Works*, 379.

but London will have their talk of it. Sir, I know that although this seemeth in our case most thank-worthy, yet have we not that apparel that we look for; for this, in time, will wear, and that we look for, rightly done on, will endure, and is called *stola immortalitatis*.”¹ To the faithful Berneher, who was always on the move between one prison and another, and sometimes, in his own words,² “so weary as any man can be,” he writes repeatedly, and in a letter conveys to his “brother Austin” (Berneher) the gift of 3s. 4d., “a poor token of my good will, towards your charges.” Early in the Oxford imprisonment he receives a letter from West, once his chaplain, beseeching him to retract and save his life,³ and replies calmly, kindly and immoveably: “It is a goodly wish that you wish me, deeply to consider things pertaining to God’s glory; but if you had wished also that neither fear of death nor hope of worldly prosperity should let me to maintain God’s word and His truth, which is His glory and true honour, it would have liked me well. You desire me, for God’s sake, to remember myself. Indeed, Sir, now it is time to do so, for so far as I can perceive it standeth me in no less danger than of the loss both of body and

¹ *Works*, 372.

² *Works*, 381.

³ West died a little before Ridley, it was said of remorse.

soul. He that will not fear Him that threateneth to cast both body and soul into everlasting fire, whom will he fear? With this fear, O Lord, fasten Thou together our frail flesh, that we never swerve from Thy laws.”¹ A little later, he tells Bradford² that the imprisonment is severer. It was when, for a time, the three were together in Bocardo, “which now in Oxford may be called a college of Quondams”; no one may visit them; they may not take air “upon the wall”; and it was reported that they had made a desperate attempt to escape, all because a drunkard “chanced to multiply words, and for the same was set in Bocardo,” and a coal had fallen from the hearth of their chamber, and burnt a hole in the floor, “the bailiff’s servants sitting by the fire.” Again and again he speaks of his own writings as in progress, particularly of a tractate dealing with the Papacy and of one on Transubstantiation; this latter is the *Brief Declaration* reprinted in this volume; he appears to have written it some time in 1554. Then he has something to say of Edmund Irish and his wife, in whose house he was almost³ continuously imprisoned. To a fine nature, used to the highest

¹ *Works*, 338.

² *Works*, 358.

³ He was in Bocardo in the spring of 1554, and again in the spring of 1555; so the internal evidence of the letters shews. Bocardo and the Mayor’s house were close to each other.

places and interests, it must have been a long minor martyrdom to lie week after week in the hands of such persons, no doubt of the narrowest thought and education, and of whom the wife was a religious bigot. But Ridley speaks of his lot with patience, and with touches of characteristic humour. In a long letter to Grindal, written in May 1555,¹ he draws (prudently in Latin) a sketch of the position: "Of all us three at Oxford I am kept most strait and with least liberty, perhaps because the man in whose house I am imprisoned (although he is mayor of the city!) is ruled by his wife; a little old lady, (*mulier vetula*), peevish and very superstitious, who prides herself on being reported to guard me closely, and with the utmost care. Her husband, one Irish, (*Irischius nomine*), is mild enough indeed to everybody, but to his wife more than most obsequious, (*plusquam obsequentissimus*.) You know I never had a wife; and from my daily intercourse with this pair I seem to see in some measure how great a calamity and how intolerable a yoke it is to be married to an evil wife. Rightly says the wise man, 'A good wife is the gift of God.'"

But Ridley did not only satirize, however gently. Evidently his holy patience told in the end on Mrs

¹ *Works*, 391, 392.

Irish. We shall see how she wept on the eve of his death, and what he said to her. And the civic records of Oxford have an entry, dated four months after the martyrdom, in which Margaret Irish appears before the city council, as an offender against the King's and Queen's majesties. May not this mean that the "little old lady" had spoken out her mind against the persecutors of her martyred inmate? ¹

Meantime execution of the sentence was delayed. The reason lay in the state of the law; it was not till January 1555 that Pole absolved the English Parliament of the sin of schism, and imposed as the penance the restoration of the old legislation. That done, the martyrdoms could begin. Rogers suffered in January, and now Ridley heard that the beloved Bradford was to be carried to his native Lancashire to die, and wrote what he thought was the last adieu ²:

O dear Brother, seeing the time is now come when it pleaseth the heavenly Father, for Christ our Saviour His sake, to call upon you and to bid you to come, happy are you that ever you were born, thus to be awake at the Lord's calling. *Euge, serve bone et fidelis, quia super pauca fuisti fidelis, super multa te constituet, et intrabis in gaudium Domini.* O dear brother, what meaneth this,

¹ I owe this detail to the kindness of my friend the Rev. C. H. R. Harper. See below, 72.

² *Works*, 377.

that you are sent into your own native country? The wisdom and policy of the world may mean what they will; but I trust God will so order the matter finally by His fatherly providence that some great occasion of God's gracious goodness shall be plenteously poured abroad amongst His, our dear brethren in that country, by this your martyrdom. Where the martyrs for Christ's sake shed their blood and lost their lives, oh what wondrous things hath Christ afterward wrought to His glory and confirmation of their doctrine! If it be not the place that sanctifieth the man, but the holy man doth by Christ sanctify the place, brother Bradford, then happy and holy shall be that place wherein thou shalt suffer, and shall be with thy ashes in Christ's cause sprinkled over withal. All thy country may rejoice of thee that ever it brought forth such a one, which would render his life again in His cause of whom he had received it.

Brother Bradford, so long as I shall understand that thou art in thy journey, by God's grace I shall call upon our heavenly Father, for Christ's sake, to set thee safely home: and then, good brother, speak you and pray for the remnant that are for to suffer for Christ's sake, according to that thou then shalt know more clearly.

We do look now every day when we shall be called on, blessed be God! I ween I am the weakest many ways of our company; and yet I thank our Lord God and heavenly Father by Christ that since I heard of our dear brother Rogers' departing and stout confession of Christ and His truth even unto the death, my heart (blessed be God!) so rejoiced of it, that since that time, I say, I never felt any lumpish heaviness in my

heart, as I grant I have felt sometimes before. O good brother, blessed be God in thee, and blessed be the time that ever I knew thee. Farewell, farewell.

Your brother in Christ, N. R.

Brother, farewell.

Bradford had written just before (February 8) to the three at Oxford :

I had thought that every one of your staves had stood next the door ; but now it is otherwise perceived. Our dear brother Rogers hath broken the ice valiantly, and as this day, I think, or to-morrow at uttermost, hearty Hooper, sincere Saunders, and trusty Taylor, end their course and receive their crown. The next am I, who hourly look for the porter to open me the gates after them, to enter the desired rest. God forgive me for mine unthankfulness for this exceeding great mercy that it pleases His mercy to chose me to be one in whom He will suffer. Is this thy wont, Lord, to send for such a hypocrite as I have been, in a fiery chariot, as thou didst for Elias ?¹

Bradford and Rogers were Ridley's chosen Prebendaries at St Paul's ; he writes with joy, to Augustine Berneher, of the prospect of himself making with them "the trinity out of Paul's Church."²

But an unlikely second obstacle hindered the execution still. Philip of Spain was not unwilling

¹ G. R., 570.

² *Works*, 381.

to divert from himself to Mary some of the popular anger which the first burnings had manifestly awakened ; and a Spanish friar, of whom we would fain know more if he was not the mere tool of the bad King, preached at his command, in the spring of 1555, a sermon against the death-penalty for heresy.¹ This put off Bradford's end a while ; and Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer lingered for months. Little remains to us of the correspondence of that time ; but one letter must be quoted, a letter already used above, to Grindal, at Zurich, a reply to a communication² in which among other things Grindal had said that the *Brief Declaration* was safe over the seas, and was to be rendered into Latin :

Dearly beloved brother Grindal, I say to you, and all the rest of our brethren in Christ with you, Rejoice in the Lord ; and as ye love me and the other my reverend fathers and concaptives, (which undoubtedly are *gloria Christi*,) lament not our state ; but I beseech you and them all to give unto our heavenly Father, for His endless mercies and unspeakable benefits even in the midst of all our troubles given unto us, most hearty thanks. For know ye, that as the weight of the cross hath increased upon us, so He hath not nor doth not cease to multiply His mercies to strengthen us ; and I trust, yea, by His grace, I doubt nothing, but He will do so for Christ our Master's sake even to the end. To

¹ G. R., 543.

² *Works*, 386.

hear that you and our other brethren do find in your exile favour and grace with the magistrates, ministers, and citizens at Tigury [Zurich], at Frankfort, and other-where, it doth greatly comfort, I dare say, all here that do indeed love Christ and His true word. I ensure you it warmed my heart to hear you by chance to name some, as Scory and Coxe, etc. Oh that it had come into your mind to have said somewhat also of Cheeke, of Turner, of Leaver, of Sampson, of Chambers; but I trust to God they be all well. And, Sir, seeing you say that there be in those parts with you of students and ministers so good a number, now therefore care you not for us, otherwise than to wish that God's glory may be set forth by us. For whensoever God shall call us home, (as we look daily for none other but when it shall please God to say, "Come,") ye, blessed be God, are enough through His aid to light and set up again the lantern of His Word in England. As concerning the copies ye say ye have with you, I wonder how ever they did wander, and could find the way to come to you. My Disputation, except you have that which I gathered myself after the Disputation done, I cannot think ye have it truly. If ye have that, then ye have therewithal the whole manner after the which I was used in the Disputation. . . .

Blessed be God, we three at the writing hereof were in good health, and (in God) of good cheer. We have looked long ago to have been despatched; for we were all three on one day, within a day or two of our disputations, of Doctor Weston, (being the head commissioner,) condemned for heretics; and since that time we remain as we were of him left. The Lord's will be fulfilled in us; as I do not doubt but by His grace it shall be, to

His glory and our endless salvation, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

He closes, in Latin :

I commend to you my most reverend fathers and fellow prisoners in the Lord, Thomas Cranmer, now truly right worthy the name of Chief Pastor and Arch-prelate, and that veteran of our English race, and Christ's true apostle, Hugh Latimer. Forgive me, brother, my letter's length ; for never hereafter, dearest brother, so I think, will you be disturbed by letters of mine.¹

VIII

IN September 1555 Philip left England, never to return, and it was possible now to proceed with the burnings unhindered by his personal policy.² The sentence of April 1554 was void by the then state of the law, and another was to be pronounced, by new Commissioners.³ Three Bishops, White of Lincoln, Brookes of Gloucester (Master of Balliol), and Holiman of Bristol, carried Pole's legatine authority with them to Oxford, and the proceedings were soon completed. Cranmer

¹ *Works*, 388—394.

² G. R., 399.

³ *Works*, 255, &c.

appeared separately, in St Mary's Church, about Sept. 12; his two brethren were summoned to the Divinity School at 8 o'clock in the morning of Sept. 30. On Ridley's entrance and examination a notable scene followed; he respectfully took his skull-cap from his head whenever the Queen was named, and when Pole was spoken of as a member of the royal house; but declined to raise it at the mention of the Pope, or of Pole as Legate. No threats or persuasions moved him; at length one of the beadles of the Bishop pulled it from his head.

Lincoln appears in the same narrative as acting and speaking more mildly than Weston, but he does not spare an occasional insult. Altar and Table are mentioned, and Ridley's removal of the altars.¹ "A goodly removing, I promise you, to set an oyster-table instead of an altar, and to come from puddings at Westminster to receive; and yet when your table was constituted you could never be content in placing the same, now east now west, until it pleased God of His goodness to place it clean out of the Church." "Your Lordship's unreverend terms," Ridley calmly answered, "do not elevate² the thing. Perhaps some men came

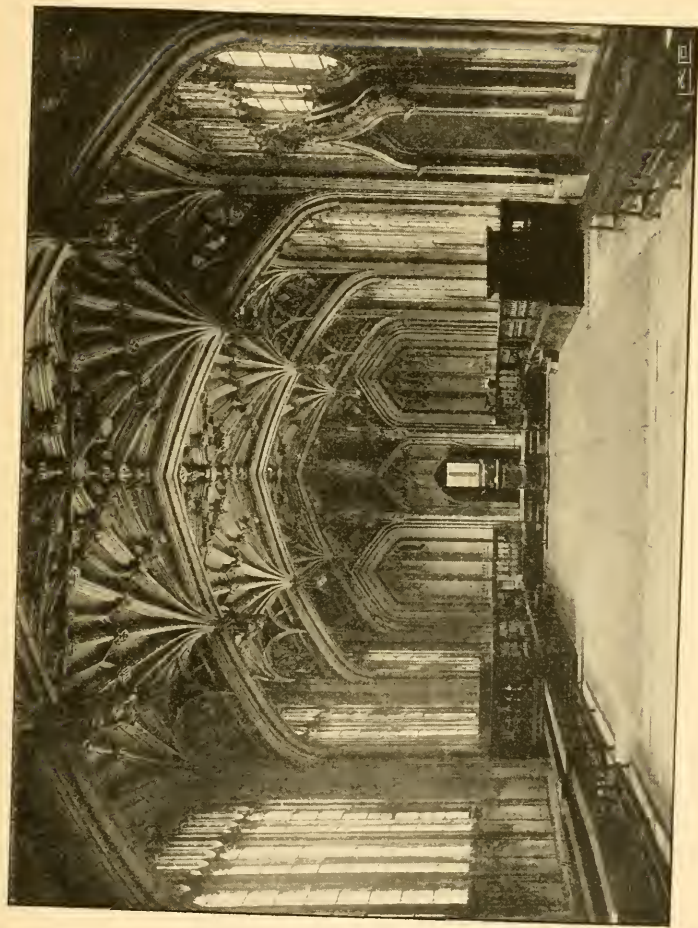
¹ *Works*, 279.

² *Elevare*, to lighten, to depreciate.

more devoutly from puddings than other men do now from other things."

He began to read a statement: it was taken from him, inspected, pronounced blasphemous, and not returned. He asked to speak forty words; Lincoln counted them on his fingers, and soon stopped him. Condemnation followed as a matter of course. The precise counts of the charge were that Nicholas Ridley "stubbornly defended certain opinions contrary to the word of God and the received faith of the Church, as in denying the true and natural Body of Christ, and His natural Blood, to be in the Sacrament of the altar; secondarily in affirming the substance of bread and wine to remain after the words of consecration; and thirdly in denying the Mass to be a lively Sacrifice of the Church for the quick and dead."

A fortnight passed before the end. In that interval he wrote, among other pieces, the Farewell Letter, or properly Letters (there are two), so often mentioned in this narrative; writings which may rank among the highest and strongest flights, so it seems to me, ever taken in our older English prose. They sweep the whole scale of feeling, ranging from pathetic tenderness and purest resignation to patriotic and far-seeing appeals, and those prophet-like denunciations of the sins of the nation and of



THE DIVINITY SCHOOL, OXFORD.



the portentous claims of the papal hierarchy with which the first Farewell ends. And the pages were written by a man who felt as we feel, and who was now face to face with the funeral pile. A few extracts poorly represent the whole, but are better than nothing :

At the name of Jesus let every knee bow, both of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth ; and let every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is the Lord, unto the glory of God the Father. Amen.

As a man minding to take a far journey, and to depart from his familiar friends, commonly and naturally hath a desire to bid his friends farewell before his departure ; so likewise now I—looking daily when I should be called for to depart hence from you, (O all ye my dearly beloved brethren and sisters in our Saviour Christ, that dwell here in this world,) having a like mind towards you all, and also (blessed be God) for this such time and leisure, whereof I right heartily thank His heavenly goodness,—do bid you all, my dear brethren and sisters, I say, in Christ, that dwell upon the earth, after such manner as I can, farewell.”

Then follow the adieux in detail, to his Tyndale kinsfolk, to his University, his College, his Parishes,¹ his Sees ; to London, to the Nation. At the close of the second letter he turns in thought to the Church in its glorious ideal and secret reality :

¹ He names Soham as well as Herne.

Farewell, Christ's dearly beloved Spouse here wandering in this world, as in a strange land, far from thine own country, and compassed about on every hand with deadly enemies, which cease not to assault thee, ever seeking thy destruction !

Farewell, farewell, O ye the whole and universal Congregation of the chosen of God, here living upon earth, the true Church Militant of Christ, the true mystical Body of Christ, the very Household and Family of God, and the sacred Temple of the Holy Ghost ! Farewell.

Farewell, O thou little Flock of the high heavenly Pastor Christ ! for to thee it had pleased the heavenly Father to give an everlasting and eternal kingdom. Farewell.

Farewell, thou spiritual House of God, thou' holy and royal Priesthood, thou chosen Generation, thou holy Nation, thou won Spouse ! Farewell, farewell !

On Oct. 15 Bishop Brookes and the Vicc-Chancellor, Marshall, came to the house to degrade him from the priesthood.¹ The miserable process was at length over, and Ridley, self-controlling to the end, found thought and words for two things before the officials went away ; he urged the Bishop to give a candid reading to "the Book of Bertram," and he appealed to him to inter-

¹ *Works*, 286, &c. It is remarkable that no mention was made of degradation from the Episcopate, though he was recognized as a true Bishop so far as Rochester was concerned. Of London he was "pretensed Bishop."

cede with the Queen that she would not deprive of their living his poor relatives and dependants. At his sister's name he wept. "This is nature that moveth me," said he, "but now I have done." So the last evening fell around him.

It was no time of gloom and terrors :

The night before he suffered his beard was washed, and his legs ; and as he sat at supper the same night at Master Irish's (who was his keeper) he bade his hostess, and the rest at the board, to his marriage ; "for," said he, "to-morrow I must be married" : and so shewed himself to be as merry as ever he was at any time before. And wishing his sister at his marriage, he asked his brother¹ sitting at the table, whether she could find in her heart to be there or no. And he answered, "Yea, I dare say, with all her heart" : at which word he said he was glad to hear of her so much therein. So at this talk Mistress Irish wept.

But Master Ridley comforted her, and said, "O Mrs Irish, you love me not now, I see well enough ; for in that you weep, it doth appear that you will not be at my marriage, neither are content therewith. Indeed you be not so much my friend as I thought you had been. But quiet yourself : though my breakfast shall be somewhat sharp and painful, yet I am sure my supper shall be more pleasant and sweet," etc.

When they arose from the table, his brother offered him to watch all night with him. But he said, "No, no,

¹ His brother-in-law, George Shipside, husband of Alice his sister.

that you shall not. For I mind (God willing) to go to bed, and to sleep as quietly to-night as ever I did in my life." So his brother departed, exhorting him to be of good cheer, and to take his cross quietly, for the reward was great, etc.

The stake was set not very far from Bocardo, "in the town-ditch," opposite Balliol, and the morning of Oct. 16 was not far advanced when the mayor (Master Irish's successor, John Waite) and the bailiffs brought Ridley and Latimer forth. Ridley had attired himself with care, as a Bishop in undress, and walked between the mayor and an alderman; Latimer came after, "a pretty way off, . . . in a poor Bristol frieze frock all worn, with his buttoned cap and a kerchief on his head, all ready to the fire." Cranmer was not there; busy just then, says Foxe, "with Friar Soto and his fellows"; but one account says that he gave a long gaze of farewell from a window to his glorious friends.¹ Ridley kneeled at the stake, "kissed it, and effectually prayed"; and Latimer knelt behind him, praying too. Then they talked

¹ Sleidan says that "Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, was then brought out also, and at the stake openly implored the mercy of God; but he was after this remanded to prison." This must be due to mere misinformation. *Hist. of the Reformation*, Eng. Trans., ed. 1689, p. 619.



THE MARTYRS' MEMORIAL, OXFORD.



awhile, out of hearing ; for the agents of death had “removed themselves out of the sun” ; Foxe could never learn one word of that conversation.

Dr Smith, whom we have seen already,¹ now preached on the ruthlessly-chosen text, “If I give my body to be burned, etc.” ; the discourse was happily “scant ; in all but a quarter of an hour.” The Martyrs made a final appeal to the chief officials for a brief hearing, but in vain ; and then they disrobed for death. Ridley gave away his outer clothing, and also a new groat, some nutmegs, and his “dial” ; “happy was he that might get any rag of him.” Latimer gave nothing ; but as his poor dress was removed by the warder the people saw him, on a sudden, no longer withered and crooked but “as comely a person as one could lightly see” ; “as comely a father as one might lightly behold.”

Then gunpowder was brought, and the chain fastened. At that supreme moment Ridley, still mindful of others, called to Lord Williams of Thame, who was there to keep order, and asked him to intercede with Mary “for certain poor men” who had held leases of him as Bishop of London, but whose claims Bonner was disposed to ignore ;² the records shew that the appeal was granted by the courts. The next sound heard, amidst the rising³ fire,

¹ Above, 44.

² See below, 72.

was that immortal word of Latimer's ; "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out." He, frail and worn, died almost without a pang, crying, "O Father of heaven, receive my soul," and as it were embracing the flame. Ridley, the vigorous man of fifty-three or so, fared otherwise. He met the flame with "a wonderful loud voice, *In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum; Domine, recipe spiritum meum*"; but the fire was ill made on his side of the pile, and he cried, "I cannot burn," suffering and struggling in a long agony, yet "forgetting not to call upon God still." At last the flame struck the powder, and the body moved no more, till what remained of it sunk down over the chain, at Master Latimer's feet.

The annalist tells us that it was a season of great rains, from September to the following March. On that same sixteenth of October the serjeants-at-law held a feast in London. And at Derby two humble confessors, workmen, passed with the Bishops through the fiery trial.

By Faith the noble Army of Martyrs mounted in their
firy chariots to heaven.

J. C. HARE.
The Victory of Faith (ad fin.).

How fast the Marian death-list is unrolled !
See Latimer and Ridley in the night
Of Faith stand coupled for a common flight !
One (like those prophets whom God sent of old)
Transfigured, from this kindling hath foretold
A torch of inextinguishable light ;
The Other gains a confidence as bold ;
And thus they foil their enemy's despite.
The penal instruments, the shows of crime,
Are glorified while this once-mitred pair
Of saintly Friends the murtherer's chain partake,
Corded, and burning at the social stake :
Earth never witnessed object more sublime
In constancy, in fellowship more fair !

WORDSWORTH.
Ecclesiastical Sonnets, xxxiv.

NOTES TO THE BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

1. P. 1. *The Death of Featherstonhaugh.*

This truculent ballad begins :

“Hoot awa’, lads, hoot awa’,
Ha’ ye heard how the Ridleys, and Thirlwalls, and a’,
Ha’ set upon Albany Featherstonhaugh,
And taken his life at the Deadmanshaugh?
There was Willimoteswick,
And Hardriding Dick,
And Hughie of Hawdon and Will of the Wa’.”¹

Scott (*Border Minstrelsy*) quotes from the Border records the note of an inquest on another unhappy Featherstonhaugh : 24 Oct., 22ndo H. viii. “Alex. Featherstonhaugh, Gen., felonice interfectus 21 Oct. per Nicolaum Ridley de Unthank Gen., Hugon. Ridle, Nicolaum Ridle, et alios ejusdem nominis.” In “36 H. viii” we find a Featherstonhaugh’s outlawry (*utlagatio*) for the killing of William Ridle “*de Morale*” (*Murale*? Waltown?).

I am permitted to extract the following sentences from a private letter (Feb. 1895) from a leading member of the Ridley family :

“We are the only descendants of the family holding any of the old family estate. . . We are descended from William, the brother of the Bishop. . . Chipchase [a fortified house near Humshaugh] is frequently in old deeds called ‘Ships-house,’ ‘Shipside,’ ‘Sheepshouse.’ . . Elizabeth Ridley, who

¹ The lines reappear slightly altered in *Marmion*, i. xiii.

married [George] Whitefield, the preacher, was a daughter of one of my great-grandfather's tenants, Isaac Ridley of Glynhurst in Wark's Park. . . . She is buried at the east end of St Paul's Churchyard. . . . Williamotswick was confiscated by the Roundheads. . . . The Bishop's family did not all become what we call Protestants; they were strong supporters of the independent Church of England; in fact, Erasmus and they were of the same school. . . . Williamotswick is the old seat of the Ridleys; Ridley Hall," a house not far from it, "is a mere adjunct."¹

2. P. 2. *Polydore Vergil*. This Italian man of letters, Polidoro Vergilio (1470—1555), was resident in England from 1501 to 1538, and among many other books wrote a *Historia Anglicana*. He made Robert Ridley's intimate acquaintance, and edited with him Gildas' *Opus Novum*, and in his *de Prodigis*, published in 1526, brings him in as the other person with himself in the dialogue. "The dialogue takes place" (between *Polidorus* and *Robertus*) "in the open air, at Polydore's country-house, near London. Polydore's duty is to state the problems and supply the historical illustrations; his friend's to explain, rationalize and depreciate as best he can." (*Encycl. Brit.*, ed. ix., s.v. *Virgil, Polydore*.) The third Book nearly closes with the following words, spoken by *Robertus*: *Jam usque ad extremum tempus diei colloquuti, hinc intro discedamus, quum triduo in hoc familiari sermone rite consumpto, mihi, ut scis, cras meum iter ad Academiam Cantabrigiensem, quæ prope bidui abest, conficiendum sit.*

3. P. 41. *Latimer in Disputation*. An interesting allusion to the Disputation at Oxford occurs in a *Spectator* of Addison's (No. 465, Aug. 23, 1712):

"It was thus that Latimer, one of the glorious army of martyrs who introduced the Reformation in England, behaved himself in that great conference which was managed between the most learned among the Protestants and Papists

¹ The present Bishop of Caledonia (N. W. America), Dr W. Ridley, is connected with the Northumbrian family.

in the reign of Queen Mary. This venerable old man¹ knowing how his abilities were impaired by age, and that it was impossible for him to recollect all those reasons which had directed him in the choice of his religion, left his companions who were in the full possession of their parts and learning to baffle and confound their antagonists by the force of reason. As for himself he only repeated to his adversaries the articles in which he firmly believed, and in the profession of which he was determined to die."

4. P. 55. *Margaret Irish*. The minute of the City-Council runs as follows, shewing that Mrs Irish had to find bail for £10 :

" 15⁵⁵/₅₆ March.

" Bond given by Margaret Irysshe.

" Rad'us Flaxney } x^{ti} quilibet
Thomas Cogeym }

" The condycon, that Margaret Irysshe, wyff of Edmond, do personally appere before Mr Wayxe, Mayor of the sayd Cytye, thaldermen and baylyes, uppon reasonable warnyng, yn the Guyld hall of the same cytye, then and there to answer to all such thyngs as to hur shall be objected on the behalf of the Kyng and Queen's maiestyes."²

5. P. 67. *Bonner*. Great was the contrast in character between Ridley and Bonner. Bonner's letter (to his cousin Thomas Shirley, and others) on his restoration to the see of London is a curious example of vulgarity. He cannot spare a rude and clumsy jest on the name of George Shipside, whom Ridley had made keeper of Bushey Park : his correspondents must "not suffer sheep's-head or ship's-side to be any meddler there" (G. R., 429).

¹ He was somewhat prematurely old, if, as Mr C. H. Cooper thinks (*Ath. Cant.*, i. 130), his birth year was 1490 or 1491. Others place it even twenty years earlier. But he was an undergraduate of Cambridge in 1509.

² See *Selections from the Records of the City of Oxford*, by E. W. Turner, of the Bodleian ; edited under authority of the Corporation.

A BRIEF DECLARATION OF THE
LORD'S SUPPER

COENA[†] Dominica non est tantum signum mutuæ benevolentiae Christianorum inter sese, verum potius est sacramentum nostræ per mortem Christi redemptionis, atque adeo rite, digne, atque cum fide sumentibus panis quem frangimus est communicatio corporis Christi; similiter et poculum benedictionis est communicatio corporis Christi.

PANIS et vini transsubstantiatio in Eucharistia ex sacris litteris probari non potest, sed apertis Scripturæ verbis adversatur, et multarum superstitionum dedit occasionem.

ARTICULI xxix., xxx.

M.D.LII.

MANY thynges confounde a
 weake memozy: A few places
 well weighed and perceaued,
 lyghten the vnderstandyng. Truth is
 there to be serched, where it is certain
 to be had. Though God dothe speake
 the truthe by man, yet in mans word,
 whyche God hath not reuealed to bee
 his, a man maye doubt, without my
 truste in God. Chyriste is the truthe of
 God reuealed vnto man from heauen
 by God hym selfe, and therfore in his
 worde the truthe is to be founde, whi
 che is to be embraced of al that be his.
 Chyriste byddeth vs aske, and we shall
 haue: searche, and wee shall fynde:
 knocke, and it shal be opened vnto vs.
 Therfore our heauenly father, the au
 thor and fountayne of all truthe, the
 bottomlesse sea of all vnderstandyng;
 sende downe, we beseeche the, thy holy
 spirite into oure heartes, and lyghten
 our vnderstandyng with the beames
 of thy heauenly grace. We aske thee
 this, O mercyfull Father, nat in re
 spect of our desertes, but for thy vere
 sonne oure sauyour Iesus Chyristes
 sake. Thou knowest, O heauenly fa
 ther, that the controuersye a
 bout

The bless
 ed mar
 tirs prayer

PREFATORY NOTES

I

History of the Composition. A few allusions in Ridley's correspondence are all we have of information on this point. The first in time occurs in a letter (*Works*, 366) to Bradford, written "From Bocardo," where, I take it, he was (temporarily) lodged in the spring of 1554¹; this is the only clue to the date. He has been thinking much of those two "most perilous and most dangerous engines" against "Christ's verity, His Gospel, His faith"; the one, "the wicked and abominable usurpation of the primacy of the see of Rome," the other, the "false doctrine and idolatrical use of the Lord's Supper." Against these two "main posts" of error he has, "according to the poor power that God had given him, bended his artillery to shoot." "I have now already (I thank God) for this present time spent a good part of my powder in these scribblings, whereof this bearer shall give you

¹ See above, 53.

notice." His tractate on the Papacy, certainly written, is lost ; but there can be no doubt that we have his other essay in the *Brief Declaration*.

Later, when the three prisoners were again separated, and Ridley was doubtless again in Irish's house, he writes to Cranmer and Latimer (*Works*, 361). It was probably now late in the autumn of 1554, for allusion is made to dealings between George Shipside, his brother-in-law, and "Mr Grimbold," his former chaplain, who was, though Ridley would not believe it, ("it would not sink into his head,") "playing a Judas' part."¹ Grimbold, in prison as an evangelical confessor, had got from Shipside all Ridley's recent papers ; and one immediate result was Shipside's imprisonment in Bocardo, where he lay for many months. In this letter Ridley says ; "My brother . . hath sent copies to this man no more but of all things I have done. First, a little treatise which Mr Latimer and I wrote in the Tower" (the "Conferences" afterwards printed by Foxe, and included in the *Works*, 99, &c.), "where there is before my sayings N. R. and before Mr Latimer H. L. *Also another draught*, which I drew out of the Evangelists and St Paul, that the words of the Lord's Supper are figuratively to be understood ; alleging out of the

¹ See above, 50.

doctors only six, three of the Greek Church, which are Origen, Chrysos. *ad Cesa. monachum*, and Theodoret ; and three of the Latin Church, 'Tertulian, Augustine, and Gelasius." This is obviously the *Declaration*. He comforts himself with the thought that "God shall turn it to His own glory," as these writings will shew that "the cause why I do dissent from the Romish religion" is not ambition and self-will, but "conscience, my bound duty towards God and towards Christ's Church, and the salvation of my own soul." He thinks it likely that Shipside will be forced to tell "where he had the copies." And as in the "Conferences" it was said that "H. L. hath caused his servant to write it," he asks that that same true-hearted servant, Berneher, may be warned to keep out of sight.

About the same time, writing to Berneher¹ (*Works*, 372), who was in Oxford, but might not see him, he says : "Not three days ago there was a privy warning given me from a man of God, one Lifley, a glover, that we prisoners here all three should be shortly and suddenly conveyed into three several Colleges . . . At which time, and at the earnest request of that forenamed man of God, I

¹ Coverdale's heading to the letter describes Berneher as "then servant to Mr Latimer and now a faithful minister in Christ's Church."

did deliver unto him some of the things I had in hand, to write out." Among these was probably the *Declaration*, of which he had evidently (see the last extract) kept the original.

Berneher, in a letter (*Works*, 380) which was written¹ in the early weeks of 1555, speaks of "a book" of Ridley's, given him to write out, but leisure had utterly failed him. He is again in Oxford, but denied admittance to Ridley, and is "so weary as any man can be," but "cannot but write two or three words to your Lordship." He has "brought again" all the manuscripts, "lest peradventure you should have need of them." Here again may be a reference to the fortunes of the *Declaration*. Considerably later, some time in May 1555, we have his last reference to the treatise. Grindal writes to Ridley, "From Frankfort, the 6th of May, 1555" (*Works*, 386), and says: "We have here certain copies of your answers in the Disputation; *item Antoniana objecta, cum responsione*, the treatise in English against Transubstantiation, which in time shall be translated into Latin. It hath been thought best not to print" the manuscripts "till we see what God will do with you." The *Declaration* had

¹ So I gather from the allusion to Bradford's (supposed) approaching martyrdom in Lancashire. He was not actually burned till the summer, and in Smithfield.

thus safely crossed the seas, perhaps about a year after its composition.

Ridley answers (*Works*, 389): "As for the treatise in English, *Contra transubstantiationem*, I can scarce believe it would be worth the while to render it into Latin, (*vix possum adduci ut credam operæ pretium fore ut in Latinum transferatur*¹);" but in any case, his name is not to be printed in any such publication till his friends abroad know what the Lord has decreed for him.

Here allusions to the Work cease.

II

The Latin Translation. Grindal's plan of a Latin translation was carried out (whether or no with his immediate concurrence) when Ridley was no more. Lavather (*Historia Sacramentaria*, ed. 1563, p. 41^b), under the year 1556, writes thus: "The English who were at Geneva set to work to turn into Latin and publish (*in linguam Latinam convertebant et publicabant*) a book (*libellum*) of Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London, on the Supper of the Lord, written in English (*vernacula lingua*);

¹ A few sentences of the letter are in Latin.

their object was that the world might know the soundness (*integritas*) of the religion which they had professed under King Edward."

The translator was William Whyttyngham, well known among the English at Geneva, and ten years later Dean of Durham.¹ His name does not appear in the work, but we are sure of it on the good authority of Bale (*Scriptores Britannicæ*, ed. Basil., p. 684): *Addo quæ Guilhelmus Wittingamus . . scribit in præfatione super D. Ridlæi assertionem contra transsubstantiationis hæresim*. The internal evidence is unhappily concurrent with the external. Whyttyngham was certainly not an example of Christian meekness and temperateness; and the Latin Version, to a reader who has learnt to love Ridley's noble combination of courage and decision with fairness of thought and restraint of expression, is a painful study. Its diffuseness is such as to make it much more a paraphrase than a version; and this diffuseness is largely displayed in the rendering of Ridley's quiet English into an embittered rhetoric, or in quite gratuitous and disputable additions. A few examples may suffice to shew the fault which spoils the whole; I give English and Latin side by side:

¹ For the ecclesiastical problems raised by his appointment see Strype, *Annals*, II. ii. 167, 168, 620.

“No man here [at the holy Table] receiveth damnation which is not dead before”: *Nemo . . . quem ab æterno Deus non destinaverit ad interitum.*

“No man ever so fond”: *Nemo tam aniliter delirus.*

“Innocentius his fantastical invention, of which I did promise more to speak”: [*Innocentius,*] *cujus tam inhumanam impudicitiam diverberaturum ad me recepi.*

“Alas, let men leave lying”: the “alas” is represented by *O impudentiam egregiam, quantum flagitium, quod scelus!*

Ridley alludes to Gardiner’s book as shewing “an eloquent style and much fineness of wit”: the Latin runs, *opera . . . cujusdam viri gnavi atque industrii, non tam arte docti quam longo usu exercitati, sed et audacissimi profecto.*

The curiously rhetorical tone of the work comes out even in the Preface. Bad as the circumstances of the Marian reign of terror were they hardly justify the assertion that *carceres ad unum opplentur; nec in cruces tantum aguntur sed ad palos deligantur infinita Christianorum corpora.*¹ Ridley would surely have smiled, if he had not been much displeased, to read that during the delay in his trial (*comperendinatus*) he was shut up and tortured, *a valentissimis lictoribus*, and carried to Oxford (which we find incidentally was then, like Cam-

¹ Are the *cruces* racks and the *pali* stakes?

bridge,¹ two days from London) *fortissimorum militum viribus circumseptus*. The constables and soldiers with whom he had to do were probably much less fierce and formidable than such heroic phrases suggest.

The book opens with an elegiac poem of little merit. The last lines, however, are at least truthful in thought :

*At tu præstanti Lector pietate libellum
Excipe, de sacro qui tibi fonte fluit :
Si dubitas, domini stabilitum morte memento ;
Firmavit proprium sanguine Martyr opus.*

Altogether the Latin Version is disappointing. It is a witness to the integrity of the English text as we have it ; but otherwise I have searched it in vain for useful contributions to our study of the *Brief Declaration*.

The Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, possesses a copy of the first edition. The bibliographical description is as follows :

VI^a. 3. 9 (iii).—D. Nicolai Ridleii Episcopi Londinensis *de Cæna Dominica assertio, contra sceleratam illam Transsubstantiationis hæresim, quam e carcere author scripserat : unde etiam paulo post, id est XVI. Octobr. die. M.D.L.V. igni comburendus extrahebatur*. Genevæ, apvd Ioannem

¹ See above, 71.

Crispinum, 1556: ff. 56, 16, char. ital. (rom. in Epistle to the Reader), c. sig. (A—G^s, * s, * * s) et pp. n. (not in second part), octavo. The book is not mentioned by Herbert.

Another copy of this edition has come lately into my own possession.

III

Editions of the Brief Declaration.

1. The Reprint in this volume is taken from a beautifully printed and well-preserved copy in the Library of Pembroke College, Cambridge. The bibliographical description is as follows:

Ridley (Nicholas), *Bp of London*. A brefe declaration of the Lord's Supper . . . 8vo. n.p. 1555. Black Letter (rom. in Address to the Reader and commonly in quotations). n.pp., c. cust. Collation A—D^s, E⁷=39 leaves (Herbert 1584).

The printed page measures $4\frac{3}{8}$ (with the *custos*) $\times 2\frac{1}{4}$ inches. It bears (as will be seen) no name of place or printer. I am told by Mr F. J. H. Jenkinson, Librarian to the University, that the type and style suggest as the place either Amsterdam or Louvain. Louvain, as a centre of Roman Catholic theology, seems to be out of the question;

we may think it likely therefore that the book was printed in Amsterdam. In the notes of collation, at the foot of the pages of the *Declaration* below, I have called it accordingly A.

2. For another issue of 1555 see below, *Addendum 7*.

3. For another, see *ibidem*.

4. In the British Museum (698 a. 16(2)) is another copy, dated 1556. It is independent of A ; shewing a different spelling, typography and arrangement of marginal notes. And it is printed continuously in one volume with other matter. But otherwise it is so closely akin to A that the two appear to be based on the same MS. I owe my information about this issue to the Rev. F. S. Ranken ; his examination shews that no practical purpose, other than bibliographical, would be served by a complete collation here. See further below, *Addendum 7*.

5. In Sion College Library Mr Ranken finds another copy of 1556, without mention of place of publication. It is independent of that last described, as regards spelling.

6. In the British Museum is a copy (698. a. 28 (1)) of an English edition, "Printed by John Awdeley, London, 1574." It is in black-letter. Mr Ranken informs me that it is "bound up with 'Certain Godly &c. Conferences.' It only claims to be 'reprinted.' Its spelling does not correspond with any other I have examined." He adds, "This is clearly the source of the *Parker Society margins*"; which differ much from those of A and L.¹

7. In the Cambridge Library is a copy of an edition of 1586; the bibliographical description is as follows:

Ridley (Nicholas), *Bp of London*. A breef declaration of the Lordes Supper . . . 8vo. *Abraham Veale*, London, 1586. *Black Letter*. Collation A—E^s=40 leaves A1 blank. (Herbert 777.)

The text of this edition, putting aside varieties of spelling, agrees nearly verbatim with A; a minute collation shews that no practical gain, except to the study of English spelling, would come of a comparison in the present work. I have called it L (London), in the few mentions made of it in the critical notes.

¹ The Parker Society Editor, the Rev. H. Christmas, unfortunately omits all mention of the source of his text.

See further below, 308, for some particulars of No. 6.

The title-page is printed as follows :

A breefe declaration
of the Lordes Supper,
written by the singular learned
Man and most constant Martyr
of Christe Nicholas Ridley
Bishop of London prisoner in
Oxforde, a little before he suffered
death for the true testimony
of Jesus
Christe



Rom. 8.

For thy sake are we killed all day long, and are counted as sheep
apoynted to be slaine. Neverthelesse, in all these thinges we over
come through him that loue us

✠ Imprinted at London for
(Abraham Vcale) dwelling in
P'aules Churchyard at
the sign of the
Lambe
1586

8. In the British Museum is a copy of an edition of 1688, in black-letter. Mr Ranken finds that "it professes to be a reprint of 1586 (much larger in

size of page than 1555). Page 1 is almost exactly the same in spelling &c., as L. I only detect four very slight variations. Marginal notes the same in substance (not spelling) as Brit. Mus. ed. princeps, omitting two unimportant notes, and altering the figures (in rather a peculiar manner) in four others.”¹

9. In my possession is a copy, also of 1688, which has some special interest. It forms part of a thin quarto volume. The title-page reads as follows :

An Account of a Disputation at Oxford, Anno Dom. 1554. With a Treatise of the Blessed Sacrament : Both Written by Bishop Ridley, Martyr. To which is added a letter written by Mr. John Bradford, never before Printed. All taken out of an Original (sic) Manuscript. Oxford, Printed at the Theater, Anno Dom. 1688.

Above the word *Oxford* is a neat engraving of the Sheldonian Theatre.

The little volume begins with a “Preface,” as follows :

THE PREFACE.

There is no good Protestant but will be glad to meet with any Relic, tho’ never so small, (a Finger or a Tooth, if I may so speak) of our Blessed Martyrs, especially

¹ Since receiving Mr Ranken’s description I have been able to examine this copy myself, with a view to ascertain the occasion and intention of the edition. See below, 309.

such eminent ones as Bishop *Ridley* and Mr. *Bradford* : I mean any of their writings that never yet were Printed, cannot but find a very hearty welcom amongst them ; and such is a good part of what is now published. Bishop *Ridley's* Treatise indeed hath been Printed long since, and is in our Libraries, and hath been again lately Re-printed¹ ; but any account of the Disputation with him at *Oxford* in *Latin*, I have not met with but in this manuscript ; neither is the Letter of Mr. *Bradford's*, now published, in *Foxes* History. However there is no Impartial Reader will have reason to suspect either of them to be spurious : They are of the same Spirit and Temper, which we find from our Histories, to have animated and governed those great Men. And what is now Printed, I do assure the Reader, is exactly according to the Manuscripts I found in my Father's Study presently upon his Death, 1671.

Our Adversaries boast, the Relicks of their Saints work Miracles, (indeed as they have been, and which is more, are still managed, they are Full of Wonders) I hope these of ours will Doe some Good, partly by shewing the World how consonant the Church of *England* is, and always hath been, to her Principles, particularly in that concerning the Presence in the *Eucharist*, (in managing of which she always walkt after the Scripture Phrase, with great Fear and Reverence, and exprest her self in the Interpretation, with so much Nicety and Caution, as to have given occasion, perhaps, to have been misunderstood by some weak, or to be artificially misrepresented, by som Evil Men, to I know not what purposes) partly by setting before us Examples, not only

¹ Probably an allusion to the edition last mentioned above.

of suffering if it be the will of God, but also, of all good and dutiful behaviour towards our Superiors, with meekness and fear; for whom we do, and will always implore the Throne of grace to support their Authority over us, let the Sceptre held out be what it will.

For these Reasons I am content this Manuscript be Printed.

Gill. Ironside, Vice-Chan.

Wadham Coll.,
Oxford, Aug.
the 10th, 88.

This edition (which I have marked O, "Oxford," in the notes) has been collated throughout with A. The result shews for the most part a close similarity; but, as the reader will see, O here and there is curiously independent, omitting long passages, or abridging, and in many minor details taking its own way.

Dr Ironside¹ only tantalizes us by speaking of "an original manuscript," "found in his father's study," while he gives no hint of its age and character. I am inclined to think that the recension is by a hand later than Elizabeth's time, and that the large omissions were made somewhat arbitrarily. There is a constant tendency to modernize antiquated

¹ Ironside appears often in Anthony à Wood's Diary. He was not a favourite of à Wood's: "Dr John Fell took Ironside to be alwaies a prating and proud coxcomb; as indeed he is" (*Diary*, iii. 224, ed. Oxf. Hist. Soc.). He became Bishop of Bristol, and then of Hereford. See further, *Addendum* 6.

words; "*nother*" always gives way to "*neither*," and "*which*" to "*who*." But it is more than possible that in these respects the whole was deliberately retouched by the editor of 1688; evidently no attempt is made to retain spellings then obsolete.

This copy is almost destitute of marginal notes.

Further allusion will be found below (p. 304) to the short Latin report of the Disputation at Oxford printed by Ironside in the same volume.

10. The *Enchiridion Theologicum* (2 vols., Oxford, 1792, 2nd ed. 1825), by John (Randolph), Lord Bishop of London, contains Ridley's "Treatise against Transubstantiation," given (with his *Protestatio*) "as memorials of that eminent martyr of our Church, and as specimens of his mode of arguing against the Roman Catholic conceptions."

11, 12. The Treatise is also included in Legh Richmond's *Fathers of the English Church* (1807), and in the Religious Tract Society's *British Reformers* (about 1830).

. In the footnotes to the *Declaration*, A = the Pembroke College Copy, 1555. L = the Cambridge Library Copy, 1586. O = the Oxford Edition, 1688. P.S. = "Parker Society"; the text given in Ridley's *Works* in the Parker Series.

. In the Reprint, the original black-letter is represented by roman type, the original roman by italic. The spelling and punctuation are reproduced exactly.

A brefe declaration of the
 Lordes Supper, written by
 the synguler lerned man and
 moste constant Martyr of Iesus Christ
 Nicholas Ridley byshop of London
 prisoner in Oxforde, a lyttel be-
 fore he suffered deathe for the
 true testimonye of
 CHRISTE.

Rom. 8.

For thy sake are we kylled all day long,
 and are compted as shepe appoynted
 to be slayne. Neuer the
 lesse in all these thyn-
 ges we ouercome
 thorough him
 that loued
 vs

Anno .1555.

To the Reader.¹

Vnderstande (good Reader) that this great clerke and blessed martyr bysshop Nicholas Ridley sought not by settinge forth any notable piece of learned worke, the vaine glory of the world, nor temporall frendship of men for his present aduancemunt, muche lesse he hunted herby for bishoprikes and benefices, as all his aduersaries, the enemies of Christes truth and ordinance, the Papistes commonly do: but hauynge consideration of the great charge of soule committed vnto him, and of the accompt therof, whiche the iustice of god wold require at his handes, intendyng therewithall to be founde blameles in the great day of the lord, seing he was put apart to defende the gospell: he not only forsoke landes, goodes, world, frendes, and himselfe withal: and testified the truth specified in this boke by his lerned mouth in the open presence of the world: but also to leaue a sure monumente and loue token vnto his flock, he hath registred it by his owne pen in this forme ensuyng, and sealed it vp with his blud. Forasmuch then as he hath proued hym selfe no vayne disputer, no wethercocke, nor hypocrite, seing he hath willyngly geuen his life for the truth: and in as muche also as his loue and moste constant christen conscience speaketh vnto the, gentill Reder: I besech the for Christes sake and thyne owne, lende him thyne indifferent hert, and pacient hearyng.

¹ We can only conjecture the writer of the Title Page and the Introduction "to the Reader." It may be Grindal,

¹ MANY thynges confounde a weake memory :
 A few places well weighed and perceaued,²
 lyghten the vnderstandyng. Truth is there to be
 serched,³ where it is certain ⁴ to be had. Though God
 dothe speake the truthe by man, yet in mans word,
 whyche God hath not reuealed to bee his, a man
 maye doubte, without mystruste in God. Christe is
 the truthe of God reuealed vnto man from heauen by
 God hym selfe, and therfore in his worde the truthe
 is to be founde, whiche is to be embraced of al that
 be his. Christe byddeth vs aske, and we shall haue :
 searche, and wee shall fynde : knocke, and it shal
 be opened vnto vs. Therfore our heauenly father,
 the author and fountayne of all truthe, the

¹ O has before the first sentence :

*A Brief Treatise of the most blessed SACRAMENT of the
 Body and Blood of Christ.*

THE PREFACE.

L has in the same place :

:: A Breefe Declaration of the Lords Supper.

² O, *proved*

³ O adds *with Diligence*

⁴ O omits *certain*

bottomlesse sea of all ¹ vnderstandyng, sende downe we besече the, thy holy spirite into oure heartes, and lyghten our vnderstandyng with the beames of thy heauenlye grace. We aske thee *The blessed martirs prayer.* this, O mercyfull ² Father, nat in respect of our desertes, but for thy dere sonne oure sauour Iesus Chrystes sake. Thou knowest, O heauenly Father, that the controuersye about the Sacrament of ³ the blessed body and bloude of thy deare sonne, our saueour Iesu ⁴ Christe, hathe troubled, not of late only y^e church of Englande, Fraunce, Germanye, and Italye, but also many yeares agoo. The faulte is ours (no doubt) therefore, ⁵ for we haue deserued thy plague. But (O Lorde) be mercyfull, and releue oure myserie with some lighte of grace. Thow knowest (O Lord) how this wicked world rolleth vp and downe, and releth to & fro: and carethe not what thy wyll is, so it maye abyde in wealthe. If truthe haue wealthe, ⁶ whoe are stoute ⁷ to defende the truthe as they? But if Chrystes crosse be layed on truthes backe, than they vanyshe awaye straight, ⁸ as waxe before the fire. But these are not they, O

¹ O adds *true*³ O om. *the Sacr. of*⁵ O, *thereof*⁷ O, *is so stout*² O, *heavenly*⁴ O om. *Iesu*⁶ O adds *then*⁸ O, *straight away*

heauenly father, for whome I make my moste *Note.*
 moane, but for those sely ¹ ones, O Lord, which haue
 a zeale vnto thee: those I meane, which wold and
 wishe to knowe thy will, and yet are letted, holden
 backe, & blynded by the subtyltyes of Satan and hys
 Mynsters, the wickednesse of this wretched worlde,
 and the synful lustes and affections of the fleshe.
 Alas Lorde, thow knowest that we bee ² of oure
 selues but fleshe, wherein ther dwelleth nothing
 that is good. How than is it possible for man
 without the (O Lord) to vnderstande thy truthe
 in dede? Can the natural manne perceauce the
 will of God? O Lorde, to whom thow geuest a
 zeale of thee, geue them also (we besече thee) the
 knowlage of thy blessed will. Suffre not them (O
 Lorde) blyndlye to be ledde, for to stryue against
 thee as thow diddest those (Alas) which crucified
 thine owne sonne, forgeue them (O Lorde) for thy
 deare sonnes sake, for they knowe not what they
 doo. They do thinke (Alas, O Lorde) for lacke ³
 of knowlage, that they doo vnto the good seruice,
 euen whan agaynst thee they doo most extremely
 rage. Remembre, O Lorde (we besече the) ⁴ for

¹ I.e., innocent, simple. The word is so spelt in Chaucer.
 See Skeat, Etym. Dict. s.v. *silly*.

² O, *are*

³ O, *want*

⁴ O here reads, *the Prayer of thy Martyr St. Stephen, of*

whom thy martyr Stephan did praye, and whome thyne holy Apostle¹ Paule did so truly and earnestly loue: that for their saluation, he wished him self accursed for them. Remembre (O heauenly father) the prayer of thy deare sonne, our saueour Christe,² vpon the crosse, whan he sayd vnto thee: O father forgeue them: they know not what they doo. With this forgeuenesse, O good Lord,³ geue me, I beseeche the, thy grace, so here brefely to set forthe the sayenges⁴ of thy sonne our sauior Christ, of his Euangelistes, and of his⁵ apostles, that in this aforesayd controuersye, the lyght of the truthe, by the lanterne of thy worde, maye shyne vnto all theim that loue thee.⁶

Of the Lordes last supper do speake expressly⁷ the Euangelistes, Mathew Mark, & Luke: but none more plainly nor⁸ more fully declareth the same, than dothe S. Paule, partely in⁹ the tenth chapter, but specially in the .xi. chapter of his fyrst epistle to the Corinthians. As Mathew and

thy holy Apostle Paul, which wisheth him accursed from thee for the salvation of his brethren the Jews.

¹ *Acpstle*, by mistake.

² O om. *our Saviour Christ*

³ O adds *God*

⁴ O adds *and sentences*

⁵ O om. *of his*

⁶ O adds *Amen.* and draws a line here, at the close of "the Preface," as it calls this first paragraph.

⁷ O adds *three of*

⁸ O, *and*

⁹ O reads only *the 10th 1st. c. Cor.* to the next full-stop.

Marke¹ do agree muche in woordes, so doo² likewise Luke and S. Paul. But al .iiij. no doubt, as they were al taught³ in one schole, and inspired with one spirit, so taught thei all one truthe. God graunte vs to vnderstande it wel. Amen.⁴

Mathew setteth forth Christes Supper thus.⁵

When euen was come, he satte doune with the Math. 26. .xij. &c. As they didde eate, Iesus tooke breade, and gaue thanks, brake it, and gaue it to the disciples, and sayde: Take, eate This is my bodye. And he tooke the cuppe and gaue thanks, gaue it to them, sayeng, Drinke ye all of this: for this is my bloud of the new testament, that is shedde for many, for the Remission of synnes. I saye vnto you, I wyll not drincke henceforth of thys fruite⁶ of the vyne tree, vntyll that daye, whann I shall dryncke that⁷ newe in my fathers kingdome. And whan they hadde sayed grace,⁸ they went out, &c.

Nowe Marke speaketh it thus.

¹ O proceeds, agree in form of words

² O, doth

³ O, altogether

⁴ O om. Amen

⁵ A comparison of the Scripture quotations in the *Declaration* with the English Versions known to Ridley shews that he quotes freely, from memory, or having the Original most in his mind, but with recollections of both Tindale and 'Cranmer.'

⁶ O om. henceforth of thys fruit

⁷ O, it

⁸ So Tindale and 'Cranmer'

Mar. 14. And as they eate, Iesus tooke breade, blessed, and brake, and gaue to theym and saied, Take, eate, This is my bodye. And tooke the cuppe, gaue thanks, and gaue it to theym, and they all dranke of it. And he sayed vnto them: This is my bloude of the newe testamente, whyche is shedde for manye. Uerylye I saye vnto you, I wylle drynke no more of the fruite of the vyne, vntylle that daye, that I drynke that newe, in the kingdome of God.

Here Mattheue and Marke do agree not only in y^e matter, but also allmost fully in the forme of wordes.¹ In Mathewe, gaue thanks. Marke hathe one² worde, Blessed: whych signifyeth in thys place all one. And where³ Mathewe sayethe: Drinke ye all of thys: Marke saieth: ⁴they al dranke of it. And wher Mathewe sayethe: of thys frute of y^e vyne: Marke leaueth out y^e worde (this) and sayth, of y^e frute of the vyne.

Nowe let vs se lykewyse, what agremente (in *Luc. 22.* forme of woordes) is betwene S. Luke and S. Paule. Luke wryteth thus: He toke bread, gaue thanks, brake it and gaue it to them, saieng This is my bodi which is geuen for you.⁵ This do in the remembraunce of me. Like wise also whan they

¹ O adds, *saving that for this word* in Matthew &c. On the statement see Additional Note 1. ² O, *this*

³ O, *whereas* ⁴ O adds *and* ⁵ O om. *which . . . you*

had supped, he toke the cup, sayeng, This cuppe is the newe testament in my bloud, whiche is shedde for you.

Saint Paulesetteth furthe the Lordes¹ supper thus. The Lorde Iesus, the same nyghte, in the whiche he was betrayed, toke bread, and gaue I. Cor. II. thanks & brake, and said : Take, eate : this is my body, which is broken for you. This do in remembrance of me. After the same maner he toke the cupp, whan supper was done, sayeng : This cuppe, is the newe testament in my bloud. This do as often as ye² shall drinke it in the remembrance of me. For as often as ye shall eate thys breade, and dryncke this cuppe, ye shall shewe the Lordes death, vntyll he come.

Here where Luke sayeth, which is geuen : Paule sayth, whych is broken. And as Luke addeth to the wordes of Paule spoken of the cuppe whyche is shedde for you; so lykewyse Paule addeth to the wordes therof,³ Thys doo, as often as ye shall drinke it in the remembrance of me. The rest that foloweth in S. Paule bothe there and in y^e 10. chap. perteyneth vnto the right vse and doctrine of the Lordes supper.

¹ O, *Christ's*

² O, *you* (and so just below) and om. *shall*

³ O, *Of Luke* instead of *thereof*

Thus the Euangelistes & S. Paule haue rehearsed the wordes and worke¹ of Christ, wherby he did institute & ordayne thys holy sacrament of hys² body & blood, to be a perpetuall remembrance³ vnto his comyng againe⁴ of him selfe: I saye y^t is of his body geuen for vs, and of his blood shedde for the remission of synnes. But⁵ this remembrance whych is⁶ thus ordayned, as y^e autor therof is Christe, bothe God and man, so by the almightye power of God, it farre passethe all kyndes of remembraunces,⁷ that anye other man is able to make eyther of hym selfe, or of anye other thing. For who so euer receaueth this holy Sacrament thus ordayned in remembrance of Christ, he reccaueth therwith either deathe or lyfe. In thys (I trust) we doo all agree. For S. Paule sayeth of y^e godly receiours⁸ in the 10. chap. of his firste epistle vnto the Corinthians: *The cuppe of blessinge, whiche we blesse, is it not the partakynge or felowshyppe of Christes bloude?* And also he sayeth. *The breade which we breake (and⁹ meaneth at the Lordes table Is it not the partakynge or felowshyppe of Chrystes bodye?*

¹ O, *works*² O adds *blessed*³ O adds, *of himself*⁴ O begins a new sentence with *Of himself*⁵ O adds *in* ⁶ O om. *which is* ⁷ O, *Remembrance*⁸ O, 1 Cor. 10th⁹ O, *he*

Now the partaking of Christes bodye and of his¹ blood vnto the faythfull and godly, is the partaking or² felowship of life & immortalitie. And agayn of the badde and vngodly receauours, S. Paule as playnlye sayeth thus: *He that catcheth of this breade, and drinketh of this cuppe vnworthilye:*³ *is giltye of the body and bloud of the Lorde.*

O how necessary than it is, if we loue life, & wolde eschue deathe, to trye and examine *Note.* our selues, before we eate of this breade, and drynke of this cuppe, for elles, assuredly, he that eateth and drynketh therof⁴ vnworthily, eateth & drynketh his owne damnacion, bycause he estemeth⁵ not the Lordes body: y^t is, he reuerenceth not the Lordes bodi with the honour that is due vnto him.

And⁶ that which was sayd, that with the recepte of the holy Sacrament of the blessed body and bloud of Christ is receaued of euey one good and⁷ badde either lyfe or death, it is not ment, that they which are dead before God, may hereby⁸ receaue lyfe: or the lyuinge before God can hereby receaue deathe.

For as none is mete to receaue natural fode,

¹ O om. *of his*

² O, *and*

³ O adds *he*

⁴ O om. *thereof*

⁵ O, *esteemed*

⁶ O adds *yet by*

⁷ O, *or*

⁸ O, *hereby may*

wherby y^e natural life is nourished, except he be borne & lyue before so no man can fede (by the receipt of this holy sacrament) of the fode of eternall life, excepte he be regenerated & borne of God before. And on the other syde, no manne here receaueth damnation which is not dead before.

Thus hitherto without all doubte, God is my witnesse. I saye so farre as I doo¹ knowe, there is no controuersye amonge them that be learned, in the churche of Englande (concerning the matter of this sacramente) but all doo agree, whether they be newe or olde: and to speake plain, and as some of them² doo odiously call either³ other: whether they be protestauntes,⁴ papistes, Pharisees or gospellers. And as al do agree hitherto, in the afore-sayed doctrine, so al do deteste, abhorre & condemne y^e wicked heresie of the *Messalonianes*,⁵ which other wise be called Eutichetes,⁶ which said, y^t y^e holy Sacrament can nother do good nor harme. Al do also condemne those⁷ wicked Anabaptistes,⁸ which put⁹ no difference betwene the Lordes table and the lordes meate, & their owne.

¹ O om. *doo*

² O om. *of them*

³ O, *each*

⁴ See Add. Note 2.

⁵ O, *Messalians*, with marginal note *Trip. Hist. Lib. 7. cap. 11.*

⁶ O, *Euchits*. See Add. Note 3.

⁷ O, *the*

⁸ See Add. Note 4.

⁹ O, *putteth*

And bicause¹ charity wolde, that we should,² (if it be possible, and so farre as we maye with the sauegarde of good conscience, & mayntenaunce of the truthe) agree with all men: therfore me thinkes, it is not charitably done to burthen any man (either newe or olde, as they cal them³) further, than suche doo declare them selues, to dissente from that we are persuaded to be⁴ truthe, or pretende therto⁵ to be controuersies, where as none suche are in dede: and so to multiplie the debate, the which the more it dothe encrease, the further it doth departe from the vnitie, that the true christian should desyre.

And agayn, this is true, that truthe nother nedeth nor wyll bee maynteyned with lies. It is also a true prouerbe, that it is euen synne, to lye vpon the deuil:⁶ for thoughe by thy⁷ lye *What it is to lye.* thou doest synne⁸ neuer so muche to speake agaynst the deuil, yet in y^t thou lyest, in dede thou workeste the deuylles worke: thou doeste hym seruice, and takest the deuilles parte. *The sclanderous ties of the papistes.* Nowe whether than⁹ they doo godly and charytably, whiche ether by their pen in

¹ O, *forasmuch*² O om. *that we should*³ O om. *as they call them*⁴ O adds *the*⁵ O, *there*⁶ O reads for this whole sentence, *And it is sin to lie against the Devil*⁷ O, *the*⁸ O, *seem*⁹ O begins the sentence, *Now then, whether*

wrytyng, or by their wordes in preaching doo beare the symple people in hande,¹ that those whych thus doo teache & beleue, doo goe aboute to make the holy Sacrament (ordayned by Christ hymselfe) a thing no better than a piece of common² bread : or that doo saye, that suche doo make the holy Sacramente³ of the blessed body and bloud of Christ nothinge elles,⁴ but a bare sygne or a figure, to represent Christ none other wise, than the⁵ Iuye bushe dothe represent the wyne in a tauerne, or as a vyle⁶ persone gorgiouslye appa-railed, maye represent a kinge or a prynce in a playe. Alas lette men⁷ leaue lyinge, and speake⁸ truthe euery one, one,⁹ not only to his neighbour, but also of hys neighbour: for we are members

¹ "To bear in hand," to keep in suspense, and so to delude with false hopes or notions. So Shakespeare: "A knave, to bear a gentleman in hand, and then stand upon security!" (2 *Hen. IV.*, i. 2).

See above, p. 32, for the particular misrepresentation which Ridley has here in mind.

² O adds *broken*

³ O, *this Sacrament*

⁴ O om. *nothing else*

⁵ O, *an.* The ivy, perhaps, as sacred to Bacchus, was the tavern-sign. Shakespeare: "Good wine needs no bush" (*As You Like It*, Epilogue). See further Add. Note 5.

⁶ *I. e.* cheap, common. So in the A.V. of St James: "vile raiment."

⁷ O, *us*

⁸ O adds *the*

⁹ O, *man.* The text of A repeats *one*, perhaps in error.

one of an other sayeth saint Paule. The controuersie (no doubt) which at thys daye troublethe the churche (wherein anye meane¹ learned man, cyther olde or newe, dothe stande in)² is not, whether the holy Sacrament of the³ bodye and bloud of Chryst, is no better than a piece of common bread or no: or whether the Lordes table is no more to be regarded, than the table of any earthy man or no: or whether it is but⁴ a bare signe or figure of Christ and nothyng elles or no. For all doo graunte, that S. Paules woordes doo requyre, that the bread which we breake, is the partaking of the body of Christe, and also⁵ doo graunte hym that eatethe of that bread, or⁶ drinketh of that cup vnworthily, to be giltye of the Lordes death, and to cate and drinke hys owne damnacion, bycause he estemethe⁷ not the Lordes body. All doo graunt, that these woordes of S. Paule (when he sayeth: *If we eate, it aduantage the vs nothinge: or if we eate not, we want nothinge therby*) are not spoken of the Lordes table, but of other common meates.

Thus than hitherto yet, we al agree. But *Wherein* now let vs see, wherin the dyssension dothe *the controuersy* stande. The vnderstanding of it, wherin *consisteth*.

¹ "Mean," *i. e.* moderately, of the average.

² "Stand in," *i. e.* agree.

³ O adds *blessed*

⁴ O, *be for is but* ⁵ O adds *all* ⁶ O, *and* ⁷ O, *esteem'd*

it chiefly standeth,¹ is a steppe to the true searchynge forth of the truth. For who can seke well a remedye, if he know not before, the disease? It is neither to be denyed nor dissembled, that in the matter of thys Sacrament ther be diuerse poyntes, wherin menne (counted to be learned) can not agree. As, whether there be any Transubstantiation of the bread, or no: any corporal & carnal presence of Christes substaunce, or no. Whether adoration (due onelye vnto God) is to be done vnto the Sacrament or no? and whether Christes bodye be there offred in dede² vnto y^e heauenly father, by y^e prieste or no: and whether y^e euill man receauethe the naturall bodye of Christe or no. Yet neuerthelesse as in a man dyseased in dyuerse partes, commonlye the origynall cause of suche dyuerse diseases, whyche is³ spredde abroad in the body, doo come from⁴ one chiefe membre, as frome the stomacke, or from the heade: euen so all⁵ fyue aforesayed⁶ doo chiefly hange vpon thys one question, which is, what is the matter of the Sacramente: whether is it the naturall substaunce of breade, or the natural substaunce of Christes owne body? The truthe of this question truly tryed out and agreed vpon, no doubt shall ceasse the con-

¹ O, *doth* chiefly stand ² O, *indeed* offered ³ O, *are*

⁴ O adds *some* ⁵ O adds *those* ⁶ O adds *points*

trouersie in al y^e rest. For if it bee Chrystes owne naturall bodye, borne of the virgine: than assuredly (seyng that all learned menne in Englande so farre as I knowe,¹ bothe newe & olde, graunt there to be but one substaunce, than I saye, they must nedes graunt Transubstanciacion: that is, a chaunge of y^e substaunce of bread, into the substance of Christes bodye. Than also they must nedes grant the carnal and corporal presence of Christes bodye. Than must the Sacrament be adored with y^e honour due to Christ him selfe, for the vnitie of the two natures in one persone. Than yf y priest do offre the Sacrament, he dothe offre in dede Christ him selfe. And finally the murtherour, the aduouterour,² or³ wicked man receauing the Sacrament, must nedes than receaue also the natural substaunce of Christes owne blessed bodye, bothe fleshe and blood.

Nowe on y^e other syde, yf after the truth shalbe truly tryed out, it shalbe⁴ founde, that the substaunce of⁵ bread is the naturall⁶ substaunce of the Sacrament, although for the chaunge of the vse, office and dignitie of y^e bread, the bread in dede sacra-

¹ O om. *so . . . know*

² O, *adulterer*. "Advouterer" appears in the "Order of the Communion," 1548, and in the Communion Office of 1549.

³ O, *and* ⁴ O, *be* ⁵ O adds *the* ⁶ O, *material*

mentally is chaunged into the body of Christ, as the water in ¹ Baptisme is sacramentally ² chaunged into the fountayne of regeneration, & yet the naturall ³ substaunce therof remayneth all one, as was before : if (I say) the true solucion of that former question (whervpon all these controuersies do hang) be, that the naturall substaunce of breade, is the materiall substaunce in the ⁴ Sacrament of Christes blessed ⁵ body : than must it nedes ⁶ folowe of the former proposition (confessed of all that be named to bee learned, so farre as I doo knowe, in Englande) which is that there is but one materiall substance in the Sacrament of the body, and one onely lykewyse in the Sacrament of the bloude, that there is no such thyng in dede and in truthe, as they call Transubstantiation : for the substaunce of bread remayneth styll in the Sacrament of the body : than also the naturall substance of Christes humayn nature, which he toke of the virgin Mary is in heauen, where it reigneth nowe in glorye, and not here inclosed vnder the forme of bread : than that godly honour, whiche is only due vnto God the creator, may not be done vnto the creature

¹ O, *cf.* On the statement, see Add. Note 6.

² O om. *sacramentally*

³ O, *material*

⁴ O adds *holy*

⁵ O om. *blessed*

⁶ O om. *needs*

without idolatrye and sacrilege, is not to bee done vnto the holy Sacrament.

Than also the wicked, I meane the impenitent murtherer, aduouterour, or suche lyke, do not receaue the naturall substance of the blessed body and bloud of Christ. Fynally, than doth it¹ folow, that Christes blessed body and bloud, which was ones onely offred & shedde vpon the crosse, beyng auaylable² for the sinnes of all the hole³ world, is offered vp no more, in the naturall substance therof, nother by the priest, nor any other thyng. But here before we go any further to serch in this matter, and to wade (as it were⁴) to searche and trye out (as we may) the truth herof in the scripture, it shal do wel by the way, to know,⁵ whether they that thus make answere & solucion vnto the former principall question, do take away symply and absolutely the presence of Christes body and bloud, from the Sacrament, ordeined by Christe, and duly ministred accordyng to his holy ordinance and institution of the same. Undoubtedly

¹ O om. *it*

² *I.e.* availing, effectual; the only meaning of the word in pure English. So Hooker, *E. P.*, v. 57; "the grace available unto eternal life."

³ O om. *whole*

⁴ O om. the bracketed words

⁵ O om. *to know* (with a mark to shew two words missing) and proceeds, *Whether*, etc.

they doo denye that vtterly, eyther so to saye, or so¹ to meane.² Herof yf any man doo or wyll doubt, the bookes which are written already in this matter of theim, that thus doo answere, wyl make the matter playn.³

Now than wyll you say, what kynd of presence do⁴ they graunt, & what do they denye? Briefly they denie the presence of Christes body in the naturall substaunce of hys humane & assumpte nature, and graunt the presence of the same by grace: that is, they affirme and saye, that the substaunce of the natural body and blood of Christ is onely remaynyng in heauen, and so shall be vnto the later daye, whan he shall come agayne in glorye, (accompanied with the Aungelles of heauen) to iudge bothe the quicke and the deade. And that the same naturall substaunce of y^e very body and blood of Christ, bicause it is vnited vnto the dyuine nature in Christ y^e seconde person of the Trinitie.⁵ Therefore it hath not onelye lyfe in it selfe, but is also hable to geue⁶ and doth geue lyfe vnto so manye as be or shalbe partakers therof:

¹ O om. *so*

² O adds *the same*

³ Cranmer's treatise is no doubt chiefly in his mind. But Bucer and Martyr had also written during their English residence.

⁴ O, *will*

⁵ The full-stop seems out of place here; but it appears in both A and L. O has the comma.

⁶ O om. *to give*

that is, y^t¹ to al that do beleue on his name, whiche are not borne of bloude (as S. Io. sayeth) or of y^e will of the² flesh, or of y wil of man, but ar borne of God : thoughe the self same substaunce abyde styll in heauen, and they for the tyme of theyr pilgremage dwel here vpon earthe : By grace (I saye)³ that is, by the gyfte of thys lyfe (mentioned in Iohn) and the properties of⁴ the same, mete for oure⁵ pylgremage here vpon earth, the same body of Christ is here present with vs. Euen⁶ as for example, we say, the same⁷ Sunne which (in substance) neuer remoueth his place out of the heauens, is yet present here by his beams, light and naturall influence, where it shyneth vppon the earthe. For Goddes woorde and his sacramentes be (as it were, the beames of Christ, which⁸ is *Sol iustitiæ*, the sonne of righteousnes.⁹

Thus haste thou hearde, of what sorte or secte soeuer thou be,¹⁰ wherein dothe stande the principall state and chiefe poynte of all the controuersies, which do proprely pertain vnto the nature of this Sacrament. As for the vse therof, I graunt there be many other thynges, whereof here I haue spoken¹¹

¹ O om. *that* ² O om. *the* ³ O, *I said*, ⁴ O, *for*

⁵ O, *a* ⁶ O om. *Euen* ⁷ O om. *same* ⁸ O, *who*

⁹ See Add. Note 7. O om. *the Sun*, &c.

¹⁰ O om. the words *of what . . be*

¹¹ O adds *of*

nothyng at all. And nowe least thou iustely myghtest¹ complayne, and say, that I haue in openyng of this matter done nothyng elles, but digged a pyt, and haue not shut it vp agayn: or broken a gap, and haue not made it vp agayn²: or opened the boke, & haue not closed it agayn: or els to call me what thou lustest,³ as neutrall, dissembler, or what soeuer elles thy luste & learnyng shall serue to thee to name me worse⁴:

Therefore here now I will (by Goddes grace) not only shortely but⁵ so clearely & playnly as I can make y^e⁶ to knowe, whether of y^e aforesaide two answeres to y^e former principal state & chief point dothe lyke me best: yea and also I wyll holde al those accursed, whiche in thys matter y^t now so troubleth the churche of Christe to⁷ haue of God receaued the keye of knowlage, & yet goo aboute to shut vp the doores so,⁸ y^t they them selues will not entre in, nor suffer other that woulde. And as for myne owne parte, I considre but⁹ of late what charge and cure of soule¹⁰ hathe ben committed vnto me, whereof God knowethe, howe sone I shalbe

¹ O, *mayest*² O om. *again*³ O, *they list*⁴ O has only " &c." for the words *or what . . . worse*⁵ O adds *also*⁶ O adds *now*⁷ O om. *to*⁸ O om. *so*⁹ O, *both*¹⁰ O, *cure, & charge of souls*. A and L both read *soule*

called to geue¹ accompte: & also now in this worlde what perile & daunger of the lawes² concerning my life I am now in at this present time. What folly wer it than for me, now³ to dissemble with God, of whom assuredly I loke & hope by Christ to haue euerlasting lyfe? Seing that such charge & daunger both before God and man, do compasse me in rounde about on euery syde: therfore God willinge I will frankely and freely vtter my minde and though my body be captiue, yet my tongue & my pen as longe as I may shall freely set furthe, that whiche vndoubtedly I am persuaded to be the truth of Goddes worde. And yet I wyll do it vnder this protestation, cal me protestant⁴ who lusteth,⁵ I passe not thereof. My protestation shall be thus⁶: that my mynde is & euer shalbe (God willyng) to set forthe syncerely the true sense and meanyng (to the best of my vnderstand-

¹ O adds *in*

² He speaks of himself as rather in danger than finally condemned, for reasons explained in the *Biographical Sketch*. See pp. 55, 57.

³ O om. *then for me now*

⁴ The word originated 1529, at the Diet of Speyer, when the Reformers "protested" their ultimate appeal to the Holy Scriptures. Ridley here uses the word "protestation" in the positive sense in which it was used on that great occasion, and in connexion with the authority of Holy Scripture.

⁵ O, *list*

⁶ O, *this*

yng) of goddes moste holy woorde, and not to decline frome the same, eyther for feare of worldely daungier, or els for hope of gayne.

I doo protest also due obedience and submission of my iudgemente in this my wrytyng, and in al other myne affayres vnto those of Christes church, which be truly learned in Goddes holy woord, gathered in Christes name,¹ and guyd by his

Answer to the chiefe question. spirite. After this protestation, I dooe playnely affirme and say, that the seconde answer made vnto the chiefe² question and principal poynte, I am persuaded to be the very true meanyng and sense of Goddes holy woorde: that is, that the naturall substaunce of breade and wyne is the true materiall substaunce of the holye sacrament of the blessed body & bloud of our sauour Christe: and the places of scripture, whervpon this my faythe is grounded, be these, bothe concerninge y^e sacrament of y^e body, & also³ y^e bloude.

Fyrst let vs repete the begynnyng of the institution of the Lordes supper wherin al y^e three euangelistes, and S. Paule almoste in wordes⁴

¹ O om. this clause.

² L om. the words *answer made vnto the chiefe*. They appear in O.

³ O adds *of*

⁴ O om. *almost in words*

dooe agree, sayeng that *Iesus toke breade, gaue thanks, brake, and gaue it to the Disciples, sayeng: Take, eate, this is my body.*

Here it appeareth playnly, that Christ calleth very bread his bodye. For that whiche he toke, was very bread. In this all men doo agree. And that whiche he toke, after he hadde geuen thanks, he brake: and that whiche he toke and brake, he gaue¹ to his disciples and that whiche he toke, brake, and gaue to his disciples he sayed him selfe of it: *Thys is my bodye.* So it appeareth playnelye that Christ called very bread his body. But verye breade canne not be hys² bodye in verye substaunce thereof: therefore it must *Argument.* nedes haue an other meanynge. Whyche meanynge appeareth playnelye what it is, by the nexte sentence that foloweth immediatlye, bothe in Luke and in Paule. And that is this: *Doo thys in remembraunce of me.*³ Whervpon it semeth vnto me to be eident, that Chryst did take breade, & called it his bodye, for that he wolde therby institute a perpetuall remembrance of his body: specially of the⁴ singular benefite of oure redemption, whyche he woulde than procure and purchase vnto vs, by hys bodye vpon the crosse. But breade

¹ O adds *it*

² O adds *very*

³ See Add. Note 8.

⁴ O, *that*

retaynyng styl hys owne verye naturall substaunce, maye be thus by grace, (and in a sacramental signification) his body : wheras elles the very bread whiche he toke brake, and gaue them, could not be in any wise his naturall body. For that were confusion of substaunces, and therefore the very woordes of Christe ioyned wyth¹ the nexte sentence folowyng, bothe enforceth vs to confesse the very bread, to remayne styll, and also openeth vnto vs, how that breade maye be and is thus by his dyuyne power his body, which was geuen for vs. But here I remembre, I haue red in some wrytours of the contrarye opynion, which do deny that, that whyche Christe did take, he brake. For saye they after hys takynge, he blessed it as Marke doth speake. And by hys blessinge, he chaunged the naturall substaunce of the breade in to the natural substaunce of hys bodye : and so althoughe he toke the breade, and blessed it, yet bycause in blessing he chaunged the substaunce of it, he brake not the bread, whych than was not there, but only the forme therof.

Unto thys obiectyon I haue twoo playne answers, both grounded vpon Goddes worde. The one I wyll here rehearse: the other answer I wyll dyfferre, vntil I speake of the Sacrament of the blood. Myne answer here is taken out of y^e

¹ O, to

plaine wordes of S. Paul whyche dothe manifestlye confounde this fantastical inuention, first inuented (I wene) of Pope *Innocentius*, and after conformed by the subtile sophister *Duns*,¹ and latelye *Mar.* renewed nowe in our dayes, wyth an *Antho.* eloquent style & muche finesse of wytte.² *constan.* *Gardiner.* But what can craftye inuention, subtyltye in sophismes, eloquence or finesse of wytte preuayle againste the vnfallible worde of God? What nede we to striue and contend³ what thing we breake, for Paule sayeth, speakinge vndoubtedlye of the Lordes table: *The breade* (sayethe he) *which we breake, is it not the partakynge or felowshyp of the Lordes body.*

Whervpon it foloweth, that after the thanks geuyng it is breade whiche we breake. And how often in the actes of the apostles is the Lordes supper, signified by breaking of bread? *They dyd perseuer* (saieth S Luke) *in the apostles doctrine communion, and breaking of bread.*⁴ And⁵

¹ O, *sophist Dunse*. See Add. Notes on this allusion to Innocent III. and Duns Scotus.

² P.S. has here in the margin, *It is meant of a work first set forth under the name of Marcus Antonius Constantinus, and afterward of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester.* See further Add. Note 9.

³ O, *contend & strive*

⁴ O has, for this sentence, only *They did persevere in breaking of bread.*

⁵ O adds *again*

Act. they brake bread in euery house. And again
 2. 20. in an other place,¹ whan they were come
 together to break bread &c. s. Paul which setteth
 forth most fullye in his writinge bothe the doc-
 trine & the right vse of y^e Lordes supper, & y^e
 sacramental eating & drinking of Christes body &
 bloud, calleth² fyue tymes breade, bread, bread,
 bread, bread.³

⁴ The sacramentall breade is the mysticall body,
 and so it is called in scripture. 1. Cor. 10.
The as it is called the natural body of Christ.
second
reason. But Christes mystical body is the congrega-
 tion of christianes. Now no man was cuer so
 fonde, as to saye, that that sacramental bread is
 transubstanciated and chaunged in to the sub-
 stance of the congregation. Wherefore no man
 shoulde likewyse thinke, or saye, y^t y^e bread
 is transubstanciated & chaunged in to the natural
 substance of Christes humayne nature.

But my mynde is not here to wryte what maye
 be gathered out of scriptures for this purpose, but
 onely to note here brefely, those whyche seme
 vnto me, to be the most playn places. Therefore

¹ O om. *in another place*

² O, *call'd*

³ O, *5 times Bread Bread, &c.*

⁴ O inserts *The second Reason*: See below, Additional
 Note 10.

contented to haue spoken thus much of the sacramental bread, I wil nowe speake a litle of the Lordes cup.

And this shalbe my third argument grounded vpon Christes owne words. The naturall substaunce of the sacramentall wyne re-^{The} mayneth styll, and is the material sub-^{thirde} stance of the sacrament of the bloud of Christ: Therefore it is likewise so in the sacramentall bread.^{argument.}

I know that he that is of a contrary opinion, wyll denye the former parte of myne argument. But I wyl proue it thus, by the playn wordes of Christ himself both in Mathew and in Mark. Christes woordes are these: after the wordes sayd vpon the cup: I say vnto you (sayth Christe) I wyll not drynke hencefurthe of thys fruite of the vyne tree, vntyll I shall drinke that newe¹ in my fathers kingdome. Here note how Christe calleth playnly his cuppe the fruite of the vine tree. But the fruite of the vyne tree is verye naturall wyne. Wherefore the natural substaunce of the wyne doth remaine styll in the Sacrament of Christes bloud.

And here in speaking of y^e Lordes cup, it cometh vnto my remembraunce the vanite of Innocentius his² fantastical inuention, whiche by

¹ O, *anew*

² O om. *his*

Paules wordes I did confute before, and here did promise somewhat more to speake, & that is this¹: If this² transubstanciacion be made by thys woorde, Blessed, in Marcke sayed vpon the breade, as Innocentius that pope did say³: Than surelye seinge that worde is not sayde of Christe, nother in any of the euangelistes nor in⁴ S. Paule vpon the cuppe:⁵ There is no transubstanciacion of the wyne at all. For where the cause doth faile, there can not folowe the effect. But the sacramental bread & the sacramentall wyne doo bothe remayne in theyr natural substaunce alike, and if the one be not chaunged, as of the sacramental wyne it appeareth euidently: than ther is no such transubstanciacion in nother⁶ of them bothe.

Al that trust⁷ & affirme this chaunge of y^e substaunce of breade & wyne in to the
The substaunce of Christes bodye and bloud
papistes
affirm
they wote called Transubstantiacion doo also saye⁸
not what. this chaunge to be made by a certayne forme of prescript wordes, and non other. But what they be that make the chaunge, eyther of the one or of the other, vndoubtedly euen they that

¹ O, *thus*² O, *the*³ O om. this clause. On the statement, see Add. Note II.⁴ O, *of* and om. S.⁵ O adds *then*⁶ O, *either*⁷ O, *put*, and so P.S.⁸ O adds *and affirm*

doo² write mooste fynely³ in these our Gardener
 dayes, almoste confesse playnely, that they ^{to the} .48. obiec-
 can not telle. For althoughe they graunt ^{tion.}¹
 to certayne of the old authors, as Chrysostom, and
 Ambrose: that these wordes *This is my body*, ar
 the wordes of consecration of the sacrament of the
 body: yet saye they, these wordes may well be
 so called, bicause they doo assure vs of the conse-
 cration therof, whether it be done before these
 wordes be spoken or no.

But as for this theyr doubte, concernyng the
 sacrament of the body, I lette it passe. Let vs
 now consyder the wordes whiche pertayne to the
 cuppe. This is fyrst euident, that as Mathew
 much agreeth with Marke, & likewise⁴ Luke with
 Paul much agreeth herin⁵ in forme of wordes:⁶
 so in the same,⁷ the forme of woordes in Matthewe
 and Marke is dyuers from that whiche is in Luke
 & Paul: y^e old authors do moste rehearse the
 forme of wordes in Matthewe & Marke: bycause
 I wene they semed to them most⁸ clere. But

¹ "The 48 objection." This is a misprint, in all the early
 editions, for 84, as a reference to Gardiner shews. See
 Add. Note 12.

² O, *which*

³ O, *sincerely*

⁴ O om. *likewise*

⁵ O om. *much . . herein*

⁶ O adds *concerning the Sacrament of the Body*

⁷ O, *this Sacrament of the Cup* instead of *the same*

⁸ O, *more*

here I wold knowe, whether it is¹ credible or no, that Luke and Paule, when they celebrated the lords supper with their congregations, that they dyd not vse the same forme of wordes (at the Lordes table) whiche they wrote, Luke in his gospell, and Paule in his epistle.² Of Luke, bicause he was a phisition, whether some wille graunte, that he myght be a priest or no, and was hable to receaue the order of priesthod, whiche (they saye) is geuen by vertue of these wordes sayde by the Byshoppe: *Take thou autoritie to sacrifice for the quick and³ the dead.* I canne not telle, but yf they shoulde be so straye vppon Luke eyther for his crafte, or elles for lacke of suche power geuen hym by vertue of the aforesayde woordes: than I weene, *Peter and Paule had no suche priest-hode as the Papists haue.* bothe Peter and Paule are in daungier to be deposed of theyr priesthode, for the crafte either of fyshyng, whiche was Peters: or makynge of tentes, which was Pauls, were more vile⁴ then the science of Phisicke.

And as for those⁵ sacramental wordes of the order of priesthode, to haue authoritie to sacrifice both for the quicke and the dead, I wene Peter and Paul (yf they were bothe alyue) were not hable to proue, that euer Christ gaue them suche

¹ O adds *not*² O om. the words *Luke . . . epistle*³ See Add. Note 13.⁴ *I. e.* cheap, common⁵ O, *these*

authoritie, or euer said any suche wordes vnto theim. But I wyll let Luke goe, and bicause Paule speaketh more for¹ hym self: I will reherse his woordes: That (saith Paule)² whiche I receaued of the Lorde, I gaue vnto you. For the Lord Iesus. &c. And so he setteth forth the hole institution & right vse of the Lordes supper. Nowe seyng that s.³ Paule here saieth, that whiche⁴ he receaued of the Lorde, he had geuen⁵ theim, and that whiche he hath⁶ receaued and geuen them before by worde of mouthe, nowe he rehearseth & writeth the same in his Epistle: is it⁷ credible that Paule wolde neuer vse⁸ this forme of woordes, vpon the Lordes cuppe, whiche⁹ (as he sayth) he receaued¹⁰ of the Lorde,¹¹ that he had geuen them before, and nowe rehearseth¹² in his Epistle? I truste no man is so far from all reason, but he wil graunt me, that this is not lykely so to bee.

Nowe then, yf you graunte me, that¹³ Paule dyd vse the forme of woordes, whiche he wryteth: Lette

¹ O adds *him*

² O om. (*saith Paul*)

³ O om. *that S.*

⁴ O om. *which*

⁵ O, *that which he gave*

⁶ O, *had*

⁷ O, *it is*. And the mark of interrogation is absent below. These must be mistakes of the Editor.

⁸ O, *have used*

⁹ O, *except*

¹⁰ O adds *them*

¹¹ O adds *and*

¹² O adds *the same*

¹³ O om. the words between *he will grant me that* and *Paule*

vs than rehearse and¹ consyder Paules woordes, whych he sayth, Christ spake thus vppon the cup : *This cuppe is the newe testament in my bloud, This do as often as ye shal drinke it in the remembraunce of me.*

Here I would knowe, whether that Christes wordes spoken vpon the cup were not as myghty in woorke, and as effectuall in signification to all intentes, constructions, and purposes, (as all our parliament men do speake)² as they³ were spoken vpon the breade. If this be graunted, whiche thyng⁴ I thinke no man can deny: than further I reason thus. But the worde (Is) in the woordes spoken vpon the Lordes breade doothe myghtyly signifie (saye they) the chaunge of the substaunce of that which goeth before it, into the substance of that whiche foloweth after, that is, of the substance of breade into the substance of Christes body, whan Christ saith: *This is my body.*⁵ Now then if⁶ Christes wordes whiche are⁷ spoken vppon the cuppe, whiche Paule here rehearseth⁸ be of the same myghte and power, both in workyng and

¹ O om. *rehearse and*

² O om. the words *to all intents . . . do speak*)

³ O adds *that*

⁴ O om. *thing*

⁵ O om. the words *when Christ . . . body*

⁶ O, *when*

⁷ O om. *which are*

⁸ O om. the words *which Paul here rehearseth*

signifieng: Than muste this woorde (is) whan Christe sayeth: *This cuppe is the newe Testament.* &c. turne the substance of the cuppe into the substaunce of the newe testament. And if thou wylt saye, that this woorde (Is) nother¹ maketh nor¹ signifieth any suche chaunge of the cuppe, althoughe² it be sayde of Christ, that this cuppe is the newe testament, yet Christe mente no suche chaunge, as that. Mary syr, euen so say I, whan Christ sayd of the bread, which he toke, and after thanks geuen, brake, and gaue them, sayenge: *Take, eate, this is my body*, he mente no more any suche chaunge of the substaunce of³ breade into the substance of his naturall body, than he ment of the change and Transubstanciation of the cuppe⁴ into the substance of the newe testament. And yf thou wylte saye, that the woorde (*cuppe*) here in Christes wordes doothe not signifyc the cup it selfe, but the wyne or thyng conteyned in the cuppe, by a fygure called *Metonimia*, for that Christs wordes so⁵ ment, and⁶ must nedes be

¹ O, *neither*

² O, *and that altho*

³ O om. *substance of*

⁴ The P.S. Editor says that the words *the change and trans. of the cup into the substance of the New Testament* are not found after the *editio princeps*. This is a mistake; they appear in L and O.

⁵ O om. *so*.

⁶ O adds *so*

taken: thou sayest verye welle. But I praye the
Note well by the waye, here note two thynges. Fyrste
the Pap- that this worde, Is, hath no suche strengthe
ists errorr
confuted. or signification in the Lordes wordes, to
 make or to signifye any transubstanciation.
 Secondly, that¹ the Lordes wordes wherby he
 instituted the sacrament of his bloude, he vseth²
 a figuratiue speache. Howe vayne than is it, that
 some so earnestly dooe saye, as it were an infallible
 rule,³ that⁴ in doctrine & in the institution of the
 sacramentes, Christ⁵ vsed no figures, but all his
 wordes are to bee strayned to their propre signi-
 fications: when as here what soeuer thou sayest
 was in the cup,⁶ nother y^t⁷ nor the cup it selfe,
 takyng euery word in his propre signification, was
 the new testament, but in vnderstandyng that
 which was in the cup, by the cup that is a figura-
 tiue speche: yea and also thou canst not verifie
 or truely saye of that, whether thou sayest it was
 wyne or Christes bloud, to be the newe testament
 without a figure also.⁸ Thus in one sentence spoken
 of Christ, in the institution of the sacrament of his

¹ O adds *in*² O, *used*³ O om. *so earnestly do, and as it were . . rule*⁴ O adds *Christ*⁵ om. *Christ*⁶ O om. *what . . cup*⁷ O adds *was in the Cup,*⁸ O om. the whole passage ending with this word and
 beginning *but in understanding*

bloud,¹ the figure must helpe vs twyse. So vntrue it is, that some doo write, that Christ vseth no figure in the doctrine of fayth, nor in the institution of his sacramentes.² But some say, yf we shall thus admit figures in doctrine, than shall all the articles of our faythe, by figures and allegories shortly be transformed and vnlosed.³ I say it is lyke fault, and euen the same, to deny the figure, where the place so requireth to be vnderstanden,⁴ as vaynely to make it a figuratiue speche, whiche is to bee vnderstanden in his propre signification.

The rules whereby the speche is knowen, whan it is figuratiue, and whereby⁵ it is none, *Aug. De Sainte Augustin in his booke De doctrina* *Doc. Christiana*,⁶ geueth dyuers learned lessons, *chris- tiana. li. 3. ca. 16.* very necessary to be knowen of the studentes^{3.} in Goddes worde.⁷ Of the whiche, one I wyll rehearse, whyche⁸ is thys: If (sayeth he) *the scripture dothe semeto commaunde a thyng, whiche is twicked or vngodly: or to forbydde a thyng that charitie doothe require: than knowe thou, sayth*

¹ O om. *in the institution . . his blood*

² O om. this whole sentence, from *So untrue*

³ O om. *and vnlosed* ⁴ O om. *to be vnderstanden*

⁵ O, *when*

⁶ O, *De Doctrina Christi lib. 3. ch. 16.*

⁷ O om. the words *very necessary . . worde*

⁸ O om. *I will rehearse, which*

he¹ *that the speeche is fyguratiue.* And for example he bryngethe the sayenge of Christe, in² the .vi. chapter³ of S. Iohn. *Excepte ye eate of the fleshe of the sonne of manne, and drynke his bloudde, ye can not haue⁴ lyfe in you : it seemeth to commaunde a wycked or an vngodly thyng.* Wherefore it is a *fyguratiue speache, commandyng to haue Communion and⁵ felowshyp with Christes passion, and deuoutely and holsonely to lay vp in memorye, that his fleshe was crucified and wounded for vs.*⁶

And here I can not but meruayle⁷ at som men, surely of much excellent fynesse of wit, & of great eloquence, that ar not ashamed to write & say, that this aforesaid sayeng of Christe is after S. Austine a fyguratiue speche in dede: howbeit not vnto the

*Gardiner
in his
answers
to the
161. &
226. ob-
iection.*

Note. learned, but to the vnlearned. Here let any man that but indifferently vnderstandeth the latin tongue, rede the place in S. Austen: and yf he perceauie not clerely S. Augustins wordes and mynd to be contrary, let me abyde therof the rebuke.⁸

This lesson of S. Augustin I haue therefore

¹ O, *you* instead of *thou*, saith he

² O om. *in*

³ O om. *chapter* and *S.*

⁴ O, *have no*

⁵ O, *or*

⁶ For the original, see Add. Note 14. ⁷ See Add. Note 15.

⁸ O om. this whole passage from the beginning of the paragraph.

the rather set furthe, bicause¹ it teacheth vs to vnderstand that place in Iohn figuratiuely. Euen so surely the same lesson with the example of S. Augustins expositions therof, teacheth vs not onely by the same, to vnderstande Christes wordes in the Institution of the Sacramente bothe of his body and of his bloude figuratiuely, but also the very trewe meanyng and vnderstandyng of the same. For yf to commaunde to eate the flesshe of the sonne of manne, and to drinke his bloude seemeth to commaunde an inconuenience and an vngodlinesse,² and is euen so in dede, if it be vnderstanden as the wordes doo stande in their proper significacion : and therefore muste be vnderstanden figuratiuely and spiritually, as S. Augustine doth godly and learnedly³ interprete them : Than surely Christe commaundyng in his last supper to eate his body and drinke his bloudde, seemed to commaunde in sounde of woordes, as great and euen the same inconuenience and vngodlynnesse, as dyd his woordes in the .vi. chap. of S. Iohn : and therefore muste euen by the same reason, be lykewyse vnderstanden and expounded figuratiuely and spiritually,⁴ as S. Augustin dyd the other : Whervnto that⁵ exposition of S. Augustine may seme

¹ O adds *as*² O, *or an ungodly thing*³ O, *learnedly & godly*⁴ O adds *and*⁵ O, *the same*

to be the more mete, for that Christe in his supper, to the commaundement of eatyng and drynkyng of his bodye and ¹ bloud, addeth: *Do this in the remembrance of me.* Whiche wordes surely wer the keye that opened and reuealed the spiritual and godly exposition vnto saint Augustine.

But I haue taried longer in setting furth the forme of Christes wordes vpon the Lordes cup, written by Paule and Luke, that ² I dyd intende to do. And yet in speakyng of the form of Christes wordes, spoken vpon his cup, ³ cometh now ⁴ to my remembrance the forme of woordes vsed in the latin Masse, vppon the Lordes cuppe. Wherof

*The
Lords
cup as
the
priests
say.*

I do not a lyttel meruayle, what shoulde bee the cause, ⁵ seyng the latin Masse agreeth with the Euangelistes & Paule, in the forme of wordes sayde vpon the bread: why in the ⁶ wordes sayde vppon the Lordes ⁷ cuppe, it diffreth from them all, yea and addeth to the woordes of Christ spoken vpon the cuppe ⁸

¹ O om. the words *of, body and*

² O, *then*, i. e. *than*. The text of A is a misprint.

³ O om. the words *in speaking . . . his cup*; adds *here*

⁴ O om. *now*

⁵ O adds *that*

⁶ O adds *form of*

⁷ O om. *Lord's*

⁸ O om. the words *to the words . . . cuppe*. The words of consecration in the Canon of the Mass are *Hic est enim Calix Sanguinis mei, novi et eterni testamenti,*

these wordes, *Mysterium fidei*, that is, the myserie of faythe, whiche are not redde to bee attributed vnto the Sacrament of Christes bloudde, nother in the Euangelistes, nor in Paule, nor so farre as I knowe, in any other place of holy scripture?¹ yea and yf it may² haue some good exposition, yet why it should not bee as well added vnto to the wordes of Christe vppon his³ breadde, as vppon his³ cuppe, surely I doo not see the myserie. And bycause⁴ I see in the vse of the⁵ Latyne Masse, the Sacrament of the bloudde abused, whan it is denyed vnto the lay people,⁶ cleane contrary vnto Goddes moste certayne worde : for why, I doo beseeche the, shoulde the sacrament of Christes bloud be denyed vnto the lay christian, more than to the priest? Did not Christ shedde his bloud aswell for the laye godly man, as for the godly priest? If thou wylte saye, yeas that⁷ he dydde so. But the sacrament of the bloude is not to be receyued withoute the offrynge vp and sacri-fycyng therof vnto⁸ God the Father, bothe for the

mysterium fidei: qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. See Add. Note 16.

¹ O om. all from *that is, the mystery of faith to holy Scripture*

² O, *they might*

³ O, *the*

⁴ O, *when*

⁵ O om. *use of the*

⁶ O, *Lay-man*

⁷ O om. *that*

⁸ *vno*, by error of the press

quycke and for the dead : and no man may make oblation of Christes bloud vnto God but a prieste, and therfore the prieste alone,¹ and that but in hys Masse onely, may receaue the Sacramente of the² bloudde. And calle you this, Maysters, *Mysterium fidei*? Alas, alas, I feare me, this is before God, 2. *Thes.* 2. *Mysterium iniquitatis*, the mysterye of iniquitie,³ suche as S. Paule speaketh of, in *Psal.* 67. his epistle to the Thessalonians. The Lorde be mercyfull vnto vs, and blesse vs, lyghten his countenance vppon vs, and bee mercyfull vnto vs. That we may know thy way vppon earthe, and amonge all people thy saluation.⁴

Thys kynde of Oblation standeth vppon Transubstantiation his cousyn germayne,⁵ and they do grow bothe vppon one ground. The Lorde weede

The masse sacrifice iniurious to Christes passion. it out of his vyneyarde shortlye, yf it be his blessed wyll and pleasure,⁶ that bytter roote. To speake of this oblation, howe muche is it iniurious vnto Chrystes Passyon?

¹ O om. *alone* ² O, *his* ³ O om. the English.

⁴ This quotation from Ps. lxxii. appears to be made *memoriter*. It does not answer exactly to Coverdale's Bible.

⁵ O, *German-cousin*

⁶ O om. this clause. Here compare Ridley's words at Oxford: "Hearing the articles (of accusation) read unto him, he answered without any delay, saying they were all false, and . . . that they spring out of a bitter & sour root." (Foxe, vi. 442. See above, 40, and Add. Note 17.)

How it can not, but wyth highe¹ blasphemye and haynous arrogauncye, & intollerable pryde, be claimed of any man, other than of Christe hym selfe: how much and how playnlye it repugneth vnto the manifeste wordes, the true sense and meanyng of holy scripture in many places, especially in the epistle to the *Heb.* 9. Hebrues: the mater is so² longe, and ^{10.} other haue written in it at large, that my minde is nowe, not to intreate thereof any further. For onely in thys my scribblinge, I intende to searche out and set forth by the scriptures (acordyng to Goddes gracious gifte of my poore knowelage) whether the true sense and meaning of Christes wordes in y^e institution of his holye supper, doo requyre any Transubstanciation, as they cal it: or that the very substaunce of bread and wyne doo remayne still in the Lordes supper and be the materiall substaunce of the holy Sacrament of Christe our saueours blessed body and bloude.³ Yet ther remayneth one vayne *Quidditie* ^{Gardener} *of Duns* ^{in the} ^{answer} ^{to the xv.} ^{obiection.} ⁴ in this matter, y^e which bicause some that write now doo seme to lyke it

¹ O, *highest*

² O, *too*

³ O om. the whole passage from *For only in this*

⁴ See Add. Note 18.

so well, that they haue strypped him¹ oute of Dunces dustye and darke termes, and pricked him² and paynted him¹ in freshe colours of an³ eloquente stile: & may therfore deceaue the⁴ more excepte the errour be warely eschued.

Duns sayeth⁵ in these wordes of Christ, Thys is my body, this pronowne demonstratyue, meaninge the worde (this) yf ye will knowe, what it dothe shewe or demonstrate whether y^e breade that Christ toke or no: he answereth no, but onely one thinge in substaunce it paynteth, whereof the nature or name it dothe not tell, but leaueth that to be determyned and tolde by that which foloweth the word *Is*, that is by⁶ *Prædicatum*, as the logician⁷ dothe speake: and therefore he calleth this pronowne demonstratiue. (This)⁸ *Indiuiduum vagum*, that is, a wandringe propre name, wherby we may poynt out and shewe anye one thyng in substaunce, what thing soeuer it be. That this ymaginacion is vayne and⁹ vntruely applyed vnto these wordes of Christ. This is my body: it¹⁰ may appeare playnly in y^e wordes of Luke and Paule sayed vpon the

¹ O, *it*

² O om. *him*

³ O om. *an* ⁴ O om. *the*

⁵ See below, Add. Note.

⁶ O adds *the*

⁷ O, *Logicians*

⁸ O om. (*This*)

⁹ O om. *vain and*

¹⁰ O, *and the vanity thereof*, instead of *it*

cuppe, conferred with y^e forme of wordes spoken vpon y^e cuppe in ¹ Mathewe and Marke. For as vpon the bread it is sayde of al. This is my body : so of Mathewe and Marke, it is sayde of the cuppe : This is my bloude. Than yf in the wordes, This is my body, the woorde (*This*) be as Duns calleth it, a wandring name to appoynte and shewe forthe any one thyng, whereof the name and ² nature it doth not tell : so must it be lykewyse in *Gard, to the .13. obiection.*³ those wordes of Mattheue and Marke vpon the Lordes cuppe, Thys is my bloude. But in the wordes of Mattheue and Marke, it signifyethe and poynteth out the same that it doth in the Lordes wordes vpon the cuppe in Luke and *God makers agree* Paule, where ⁴ it is sayd : *This cuppe is not among them.*⁵ *the newe testamente in my bloude. &c. selues.* Therfore in Mattheue & Mark the pronowne demonstratiue (this) dothe not wandre to pointe only ⁵ one thing in substaunce, not shewing what it is, but telleth it playnly what it is, no lesse in Mattheue and Marke vnto the eie, than is done in Luke and Paule, by putting to this word (cuppe) bothe vnto the eie, and vnto the eare. For taking

¹ O om. the words *conferred . . the cup*

² O, or

³ A and L both place this marginal note here. It is manifestly out of place. See below, Add. Note.

⁴ O, *when*

⁵ O om. *only*

the cuppe and demonstrating or shewing it vnto his disciples, by this pronowne¹ demonstratiue (thys) and sayeng vnto them, Drinke ye all of this: it was then al one to say. *This is my bloud*, as to saye: *This cuppe is my bloude*, meanyng by the cuppe as the nature of the speache doth require: the thing contained in the cuppe. So likewise withoute all doubt, whan Christ had taken breade, geuen thanks, and broken it, and geuyng it to his disciples, sayed, Take²: and so demonstrating and shewyng that bread whiche he had in his handes, to saye than, *This is my body*: and to haue sayed, *This bread is my body*.³ As it were all one, if a man lacking a knyfe, & going to his oisters, wold say vnto an other, whom he sawe to haue two knyues. Sir I praye you lende me the one of youre knyues. Were it not nowe all one to answeare hym, Sir, holde I wyll lende you this to eate youre meate, but not to open oisters withall: and holde, I will lende you thys knyfe to eate your meate, but not to open oysters. This similytude scructh but for thys purpose, to declare the nature of spech withall, where as the thing that is demonstrated and shewed, is euidentlye perceaued, and openly knowen to the eie. But O good Lorde, what a wonderfull thing

¹ Printed *pronowne* in A.

² O adds *Eat*

³ O adds *is all one thing*

is it to see, how some men doo labour to teache, what is demonstrated and shewed by the pronowne demonstratyue *thys*, in Christes wordes whan he sayeth : *This is my bodye : Thys is my bloude* : howe they labour (I saye) to teache, what that (*thys*) was than in dede, whan christe spake in the begynninge of the sentence the worde (*this*) before he hadde pronounced the rest of the wordes, that folowed in the same sentence : so that their doctryne maye agree with their Transubstanciation : whiche in dede is the very foundation, wherein al their erronious doctrine dothe stande.² And here the Transubstanciators doo not agree among them selues, no more than they doo in³ the wordes whiche wrought⁴ the Transubstanciation, whan christe did furst institute his Sacrament : Wherein *Innocentius*⁵ a bishop of Rome of the later dayes, and *Duns* (as was noted before) doo attribute⁶ the worke vnto the worde (*Benedixit*) Blessed :⁷

¹ L has the curious misprint, 130. *hjection*. See for this passage in Gardiner, Add. Note 19.

² O om. all between this point and the words *how they labour* above ³ O, *about* ⁴ O, *work*

⁵ P.S. places here in the margin *Innocentius III. Epist. lib. vi. ep. 121*. I have not been able to verify the reference.

⁶ O reads only *some attributing* instead of the passage beginning *when Christ* and ending here.

⁷ O om. *Blessed*

but the reste for¹ the most parte, to *Hoc est corpus meum*. *This is my body*.² &c. Duns³ therfore with his sect, bicause he putteth the chaunge before, must nedes saye, *y^t thys* whan christe spake it in the begynnyng of the sentence, was in dede christes body. For in the chaunge, the substance of bread dyd departe, and the chaunge was nowe done in *Benedixit* (sayethe he) that went before: and therfore after hym and hys, that (thys) was than in dede Christes body, though *y^e* worde did not importe so much, but only one thing in substaunce: whiche substaunce⁴ after Duns (⁵the breade beinge gone) must nedes be the substaunce of Christes body.⁶ But they that put their Transubstanciation to be wroughte by these wordes of Christ. This is my body: and doo saye, that whan the hole sentence was finished, than thys chaunge was perfected, and not before: they can

¹ O, and; om. *but the rest*

² O om. the English

³ O, Innocentius therefore, Duns, and that Sect, which putteth the change in the word *Benedixit*, say that this word. This covers in O all that here intervenes to the words (*thys*) was than in dede.

⁴ O om. substance

⁵ O adds *now*

⁶ Instead of the passage from here to (*this*) by Christ but bread, O reads *The other which do say that this change is made, when the whole Sentence—This is my Body—is fully finished, and not before, cannot but say, that Christ's This did demonstrate, & shew Bread indeed, which so remain'd till the Sentence was fully pronounced.*

not saye, but yet Christes (thys) in the begynnyng of the sentence before the other wordes were fully pronounced, was bread in dede. But as yet y^e change was not done, & so longe the breade must nedes remayn, and so long with the vniuersall consent of al transubstaunciatours, the naturall substaunce of Christes body can not come: and therfore must their (this) of necessitie demonstrate & shewe the substaunce, whyche was as yet in the pronouncing of the fyrst worde (this) by Christ, but bread. But howe can they make and verifye Christes wordes to be true, demonstratyng the substaunce whiche in the demonstration is but breade, and saye¹ therof, *This is my body*, that is, as they say, the naturall substaunce of Christes body: except thei wold² say, that the verbe, *Is*, signifieth, *is made*, or, *Is changed into*.³ And so then if the same verbe *Is*, be of that same effecte in Christes woordes spoken vpon the cup, and⁴ rehersed by Luke and Paule: the cuppe or the

¹ O, of bread, & saying, instead of the words *which in the demonstration . . . say*

² O, will

³ This remark touches a point brought up in the Debate in the Lords (below, 273), where Bonner insists on the doctrinal importance of the precise phrase "than they may be made unto us" (Tomlinson, p. 12).

⁴ O, *And then, in Christ's words vpon the Cup* instead of the words here *And so . . . vpon the cup, and*

wine in the cuppe must be made or turned into the newe testament, as was declared before.

There be some among the Transubstanciators, *Gardener* whiche¹ walke so wylyly and so warely *a neutrall* betweene these two afore sayde opinyons, *or Iacke of* allowyng theym bothe, and holdyng *both sydes* playnly nother of theym bothe, that me thynkes they may be called Neutralles, Ambodexters, or rather suche as canne shifte on bothe sydes. They playe on bothe partes. For with the later, they do allowe the doctrine of the last sillable, which is that transubstanciation is done by myracle in an instant, at the sounde of the laste syllable (*um*) in this sentence, *Hoc est corpus meum*. And they do alowe also Duns his fantastical imagination of *Individuum vagum*, that demonstrateth as he teacheth, in Christes wordes, one thinge in substaunce, than beynge (after his mynde) the substaunce of the body of Christ.

A meruailous thyng, how one man can agree with both these two, they beynge so contrarye the one to the other. For the one sayeth, the worde (thys) demonstrateth the substaunce of bread: and the other sayeth, no not so, y^e bread is gone, and it demonstrateth a substaunce which is Christes body.

¹ O here proceeds, *would be Mediators, yea, rather Neutrals, or Ambidexters, which can shift on both sides; for where the one saith that this word This demonstrateth, &c.*

Tushe sayeth this thirde man, ye vnderstande nothing at al. They agree wel ynough in *Gard. to the. 84. ob- iection.*¹ the chief poynt, whiche is the grounde of all: that is,² bothe doo agree and beare wytnesse, that there is transubstantiation. They doo agree in dede in that conclusion: I graunte.³ But their processe⁴ and doctryne therof do euen as wel agree together: as dyd y^c false wytnesse⁵ before Annas and Cayphas against Christ: *God makers agree* or the two wycked iudges against⁶ Susanna. For⁷ against Christ the false witnesses dyd *against the truthc.* agre no doubt to speake all againste hym. *Note.* And the wicked iudges were bothe agreed⁸ to condemne poore Susanna: but in examination of their witnesses, they⁹ dissented so farre, that all was founde false, y^t they went aboute, both y^t wherin they agreed, and also those thinges, which they brought for theyr proues.

Thus muche haue I spoken, in searchyng *The consent of the olde authors.* out a solucion for this principal question, whiche was, what is the materiall sub-

¹ See Add. Note 20. ² O adds *this*: ³ O om. *I grant*

⁴ O, *proof* ⁵ O, *Witnesses* ⁶ O, *to condemn*

⁷ O proceeds *they did all agree to speak against Christ,*

⁸ O om. *were both agreed*

⁹ O¹ proceeds, *were found false, & clean contrary one to the other.* so closing this paragraph.

staunce of the holy Sacrament in the Lordes supper. Nowe leaste I shoulde seme to set by myne owne conceate, more than is mete¹: or lesse to regarde the doctrine of the old ecclesiastical wryters, than is conuenient for a man of my poore learning and simple wytte for to doo. And bycause, also I am in dede persuaded, y^t the olde ecclesiasticall writours vnderstode the true meanyng of Christe in this mater: and haue both so truely and so playnly set it furth in certayne places of their writinges, that no man whiche will vouchsafe to reade them, and wythoute preiudice of a corrupte iudgement wyl indifferentlye weighe them, & construe their myndes non other wise than they declare them selues to haue ment: I am persuaded (I saye) that in readinge of them thus no man can be ignoraunte in thys matter, but he that will shutte vp hys owne eies, and blyndfielde hym selfe. Whan I speake of Ecclesiasticall wryters, I meane of suche,² as were beefore the wicked vsurpation³ of the sea of Rome was⁴ growen so vnmeasurably great, that not only with tyrannical power, but also with corrupte doctrine,

¹ O omits the long following passage, ending with *when I speak of Ecclesiastical writers*, and reads instead, *I have thought good to establish this mine Answer and Opinion by the Authority and Doctrine of the old Ecclesiastical Doctors.*

² O, such, I mean

³ O, Usurpations

⁴ O om. was

it beganne to subuert Christes gospel, and to turne the state, that Christe & his apostles set in y^e church, upsyde downe.¹

For² the causes aforesayde, I wylle rehearse certayne of theyr sayenges: and yet bycause I take theym but for wytnesses and expounders of this doctrine, and not as the authours of the same: and also for that now I wil not be tedious, I wyll rehearse but fewe,³ that is thre olde wryters of the Greke church, and other⁴ thre of the Latine church, whiche doo seme vnto me, to be in this matter most playne.⁵

The Greke authours are Origene, Chrysostom, and Theodoret. The Latine, are, Tertulliane, S. Augustine, and Gelasius. I⁶ knowe there can bee nothyng spoken so plainly, but the craftye witte furnysshed with eloquence, can darken it, and wrest it quite from y^e true menyng to a contrary sence. And I know also, that eloquence, craft,

¹ O, *state of the Church set by Christ & His Apostles, cleau upside down*

² O om. the passage beginning here & ending *be tedious*

³ O adds *of them*

⁴ O om. *other*

⁵ O, instead of *most plain*, *So plain that in reading of them no man can be ignorant in this matter, but he which will shut up his own eyes and blindfold himself.*

⁶ O omits the whole passage beginning here and ending *all that they can*

and finenesse of witte hath gone aboute to bleare mennes eies, & to stoppe theyr eares in the afore-named wryters, that men should nother heere nor see, what those authors both write and teache so playnely, that excepte men shoulde be made bothe starke blynde and deafe, they can not but of necessitie, yf they wyll reade and way them indifferently, bothe heare and see what they doo meane, whan eloquence, craft, and fynesse of wytte haue done all that they can. Now¹ leat vs heare the olde wryters of the Greke church.

Origene. Origen, whiche² lyued about³. 1250. yeares

Eccle. agoe: a man for the excellency of his
Hist. learnyng so hyghly esteemed in Christes
Li. 6. c. church, that he was compted and iudged the
 23. singular teacher in his tyme of Christes religion, the confounder of heresies, the schoolemayster of many godlye matters, and an opener of the hygh mysteries in scripture. He wrytyng vpon the .xv. chapiter of Saint Mathewes gospel, sayeth thus: *But if any thyng enter into the mouth it goth away into the⁴ bely, and is auoyded in to the draught: Yea and that meate which is sanctified by the worde of God and prayer, concernyng the matter therof, it goeth away into the bely, and is auoided into*

¹ O, *And first*

³ O, *above*

² O, *who*

⁴ O adds, *Stomach and*

the draught But for the prayer whiche is added vnto it, for the proportion of the faythe, it is made profytable, makyng the mynde hable to perceane and see that whiche is profytable. For it is not the materiall substance of bread, but the woorde whiche is spoken vppon it, that is proufytable to the manne that cateth it not vnwoorthly. And this I meane of the Typicall and Symbolicall, that is Sacramentall) body.¹ Thus farre go² the wordes of Origene, where³ it is playne, fyrste⁴ that Origene speakyng here of the sacrament of the⁵ Lordes supper, as the last wordes doo playnely signifye,⁶ dothe meane and teache, that the materiall substance therof is receaued, digested, & auoyded, as the materiall substance of other breade & meates is, which coulde not be, if ther wer no material substance of bread at all, as the fantastical opinion of transubstantiation doth put.⁷ It is a world⁸ to se the answer⁹ of y^e papists to this place of

¹ For the words of Origen see Add. Note 42.

² O, goeth

³ O, wherein

⁴ O om. first

⁵ O om. sacrament of the

⁶ O om. this clause.

⁷ O, as the Transubstantiators do say

⁸ "A world." So Shakespeare :

"O, you are novices ! 'Tis a world to see
How tame," &c. (Taming of the Shrew, ii. 1.)

⁹ O, Answers

The papistes obiection against. Origene. Origen. In ¹ the disputations whiche were in this matter in the parliament house and in bothe the vniuersities of Cambridge and Oxforde, they that defended Transubstantiation sayd, that this parte of Origene was but set forth of late by Erasmus, and therfore is to be suspected. But howe vayne this theyr answer is, it appeareth playnely.² For so³ may al the good old authors, which lay in olde libraries, and ar set foorth of late, bee by this reason reiected, as *Clements Alexandrinus, Theodoretus, Iustinus Ecclesiastica historia Nicephori*, & other suche. An other ⁴ *An other obiection.* answer they had, sayeng that Origene is noted to haue erred in som pointes, and therfore faythe is not to bee geuen in this matter vnto hym. But this answer well weighed doth minister good matter to the clere confutation of it selfe. For⁵ in dede we graunt, that in some poyntes Origen dyd erre. But those errours are gathered out and noted bothe of S. Jerome and Epiphanius, so that his

¹ O om. this sentence, as far as *transubstantiation said*, and proceeds *They say*. See Add. Note 22, and Append. IV., for "the Disputation in the Parliament house"

² O om. this sentence

³ O, *But thus*. For the statement see Add. Note 23.

⁴ O reads here, *Another of their Answers is, that Origen was suspected to haue erred &c.*

⁵ O om, this word and the previous sentence.

woorkes (those erroures excepted) are nowe¹ so much the more of auctoritie, that such great learned menne tooke paynes to take oute of hym, what soeuer they thought in hym to be wrytten amysse.² But³ as concernyng this matter of the Lordes supper, nother they nor yet euer any other ancient author dyd euer say, that Origene dyd erre.

Nowe bycause these two answeres haue *Gard. to* bene of late so confuted and confounded, *the .166.*⁴ that it is well perceaued,⁵ that they wyll take no place: therfore some whiche⁶ haue written sence that tyme, haue forged twoo other aunsweres, euen of the same mould. The former wherof is, that Origene in this place spake not of the sacrament of⁷ breade or wyne of the Lordes table, but of an⁸ other mystical meate: of the which S. Augustine maketh mencion to be geuen vnto them, that were taught the faythe, before they were baptised. But Origenes owne wordes in .ii. sentences before rehersed, beeyng put togyther, proue this answer vntrue. For he sayeth, that he meaneth of that fyguratiue & mysticall body, which profiteth them, that do

¹ O om. *now*

² O om. the close of this sentence from *that such great* &c.

³ O, *And*

⁴ For Gardiner's words see Add. Note 24.

⁵ O om. this clause.

⁶ The *custos* here reads *which*

⁷ O, *Sacramental*

⁸ O om. *an*

receiue it worthily, alludyng so playnly vnto S. Paules wordes spoken of the Lordes supper : that it is a shame for any learned man ones¹ to open liis mouthe to the contrary. And that breade whiche S. Augustin speketh of, he can not proue that any such thyng was vsed in Origenes tyme. Yea & though that coulde be proued, yet was there neuer breade in any tyme called a sacramentall body, sauynge the sacramentall bread of the Lordes table, whiche is called of Origene the typicall and symbollicall body of Christe.

The seconde of the two newe found answers, is *Gard, in yet most monstrous of all other, which is the same place.* this. But² let vs graunt (say thei) that Origen spake of the Lordes supper, and³ by the matter thereof was vnderstanded the materiall substance of bread & wine : what than, say they ? For though y^e material substance was ones gone, & departed by reason of Transubstanciation, whyles the formes⁴ of the⁵ bread and the⁵ wyne dyd remayne, yet now it is no inconuenience to saye, that as the material substance dyd departe at the entryng in of Christes body vnder thaforesayde formes : so whan the sayd formes be destroyed

¹ O om. *once*

² O om. *But.* For Gardiner's words see Add. Note 25.

³ O adds *that*

⁴ O, *form*

⁵ O om. *the*

and doo not remayne, than cometh agayne the substance of breade & wine. And this say they, is very mete in this mystery, that that whiche began with the ¹ myracle, shall ende in ² a myracle. If ³ I hadde not redde this fantasye, I wolde scarcely haue beleued, that any learned man euer wold haue set furth suche a foolyshe fantasye: whiche not onely lacketh all grounde, cyther of Goddes worde, reason, or of any auncient wrytour, but is also ⁴ cleane contrary to the common rules of schoole diuinitie: which is, ⁵ that no miracle is to be affirmed and put withoute necessitie. And althoughe for their former miracle, which is their Transubstanciation, ⁶ they haue some colour, thoughte ⁷ it be but vayne, sayeng, ⁸ it is done by the power and vertue of these wordes of Christe, *This is my body* yet to make this seconde miracle of returnynge ⁹ the materiall substaunce ¹⁰ agayne they haue no colour at all. Or elles I praye them ¹¹ shew me, by what wordes of Christ is the ¹² second myracle wrought. Thus ye may see, that the sleightes and shiftes

¹ O om. *the*² O, *with*³ O omits this passage as far as *not only*, and reads *But this Fancy lacketh &c.*⁴ O reads *and* instead of *but is also*⁵ O, *are*⁶ O om. this clause.⁷ O, *ground, altho'*⁸ O om. *saying . . . my body.*⁹ O adds *of*¹⁰ O, *Bread*¹¹ O, *thee*¹² O, *that*

which crafte and witte can inuente to wraсте the true sense of Origene can not take place. But nowe let vs heare one other¹ place of Origene, and so we will let him go.²

Origene in the .11. Homilie *Super Leuiticum*³ sayeth, *that there is also euen in the foure Gospelles, and not onely in the olde Testamente, a lettre* (meanyng a literal sense) *whiche killeth. For if thou folowest* (sayeth he) *the lettre in that sayeng: Except ye eate the fleshe of the sonne of man, and drinke his bloud. &c.*

This letter dothe kill. Yf in that place the lettre dothe kil, wherin is commaunded the eating of Christes fleshe: than surelye in those woordes of Christe, wherin Christ commaundeth vs to eate his bodye, the literal sense thereof likewise⁴ dothe kyll. For it is no lesse crime but euen the same and all one in the literall sense, to eate Christes bodye, & to eate Christes flesh. Wherefore if the one doo kill, excepte⁵ it be vnderstanden figuratiuely and spiritually: than the other surely⁶ doo kyll lyke-wise. But⁷ that to eate Christes fleshe doth kyll

¹ O, another

² O, so let him pass

³ O, in the 11th Cap. sup. *Levit.* For the passage see Add. Note 26.

⁴ O om. *likewise*

⁵ O, unless

⁶ O, also

⁷ O om. the passage beginning here and ending *the same thing that Origen doth here*

so vnderstanden, Origene affirmeth plainely in his wordes aboue rehearsed: Wherefore it can not be iustly denyed, but to eate Christes body literally vnderstanden, muste nedes(after hym) kill lykewyse.

The answeare that is made to thys place of Origen of the papistes, is so folishe, that it bewrayeth it selfe, wythout any further confutacion. It is the same, that they make to a place of S. Augustine in his boke *De doctrina Christiana*: Wher as Saint Augustine speaketh in effecte the same thing that Origene dothe here. The papistes answer is this: To¹ y^e carnal man y^e literall sense is hurtfull, but not so to the spirituall. As though to vnderstande that in his propre sense, which oughte to be taken figuratiuely, were to the carnall man a daungerous perile²: but to the spiritual man none³ at all.

Nowe to Chrysostome, whome I bring for the seconde wrytoure⁴ in the greke churche.

He speakinge agaynste y^e vnholly vsing of mannes body, whych after S. Paule oughte to be kept pure and holy, as the very temple of the holye ghost, sayeth

*Li. 3. ca.
16.*

Chrisosto.

*In opere
imperfect
ho. ix. in
Matth.*

¹ O, *That unto*

² O om. the words *man a, peril*

³ O, *and to the spiritual not*

⁴ O, *in for my second Author*

thus¹: *If it be a faulte* (sayeth he) *to translate the holyed² vesselles, in the whyche is conteyned not³ the trewe bodye of Christe, but the mystery of the⁴ bodye, to priuate uses. how muche more offence⁵ is it to abuse and defile the vesselles of oure bodye.⁶*

These be the woordes of Chrysostome, But I trowe⁷ that here manye fowle shyftes are deuysed,⁸ to defeate this place. The author (sayeth one) is suspected. I answer. But in thys place neuer fault was found with him, vnto these oure dayes. And whether thys autor was Iohn Chrisostome him self the Archebishop of Constantinopole, or no: that is not the matter. For of al it is graunted, that he was a writour of that age, and a man of greate learninge: so that it is manifeste, that thys which he wryteth, was the receaued opinion of learned men in hys dayes.

Or⁹ elles vndoubtedlye in suche a matter, his sayeng should haue ben impugned of some that wrote in his time or nere vnto the same. Naye (sayeth an other) if this solucion wyl not serue¹¹ we maye saye, that

*Gardi. to
the .198.
objection¹⁰*

¹ O adds, *Cap. 5. Hom. ii. operis Imperfecti.* See Add. Note 28.

² O, *hallowed*

³ O, *not contained*

⁴ O, *his*

⁵ O, *amiss*

⁶ O, *Bodies?*

⁷ O, *know*

⁸ O, *found*

⁹ O om. from this point to (*saith another*)

¹⁰ See Add. Note 29.

¹¹ O adds (*saith another*)

Chrysostome dyd not speake of the vesselles of the Lordes cuppe, or suche as were than vsed at the Lordes table, but of the vesselles¹ vsed in the temple in the olde lawe. This answer wyll serue no more than the other.² For³ here Chrysostome speaketh of such vesselles, wherin was that which was called the body of Christe, although it was notthe (*sic*) true body (sayeth he) of Christe, but the mysterye of Christes bodye. Now⁴ of the vessels of the olde lawe, the writours doo vse no suche maner of phrase: for their sacrifices were not called Christes bodye. For than Christe was not but in shadowes and figures, and not by the Sacrament of his body reuealed. Erasmus⁵ whiche was a man that coulde vnderstande the woordes and sense of the wrytour, although he woulde not be sene to speake agaynste this error of transubstanciation,⁶ bycause he durst not: yet in this tyme declareth playnly that this sayenge of the wrytoure is none otherwise to be vnderstanden.

Yet can I (saith the thirde papiste) fynd out a

¹ O, *vessel*

² O om. this sentence.

³ O, *But*

⁴ O om. from this point to *of his body reuealed*.

⁵ O reads here, *And Erasmus declareth plainly that this saying of this writer is none otherwise to be understood*

⁶ See below, 254, 260.

fyne and subtil solucion for this place & ¹
Gard. in graunt al that yet is sayd, bothe allowynge
the same
place. here the wryter, and also that he ment of
 the vessels of the Lordes table. For (sayth he) the
 body of Christ is not conteyned in them,² at the
 Lordes table, as in a place, but as in a mysterye.
 Is not this a pretye shifte, and a mystical solution?
 But by the same solucion than, Christes body is
 not in the Lordes table, nor in the priestes handes,
 nor in the³ pixe, and so is he here⁴ no where. For
 they wyll not say, that he is either here or there,
 as in a place. This answer pleaseth so well the
 maker, that he hym selfe (after⁵ he had playde
 with it a littell while and shewed the fynesse of his
 wyt and eloquence therin) is content⁶ to geue it
 ouer & saye: but it is not to be thought that
 Chrysostome would speake after this fynesse or
 subtiltie: and therefore he⁷ retourneth agayne vnto
 the second answer for his shoote anker,⁸ which is⁹
 sufficiently confuted¹⁰ before. An other shorte
 place of Chrysostom I wyll reherse, which (yf any

¹ O om. from this point to *vessels of the Lord's Table*, and
 proceeds *and say, that* Christ's body &c.

² O, *those Vessels*

³ O, *his*

⁴ O om. *here*

⁵ O adds *that*

⁶ O, *he is contented*

⁷ O, *so* instead of *therefore* *he*

⁸ O, *Sheet-Anchor*

⁹ O adds *already*

¹⁰ O, *answer'd* om. *before*

indifferency may bee hearde) in playne termes setteth forth the truthe of this mattier.¹ *Before the bread* (sayth Chrysostom² *Ad Cesarium monachum*³) *be halowed, we call it breade, but the grace of God sanctifyenge it by the meanes of the priest, it is deliuered now from the name of breade, and esteemed worthy to be called Christes body, although the nature of bread tary*⁴ *in it styl.*

These be Chrysostomes woordes :
 wherein I praye you,⁶ what can bee
 sayde or thoughte⁷ more playne agaynste
 this errour of Transubstantiation, than to declare, that the breade abyde⁸ so styl? And yet to this so playne a place, some are not ashamed thus shamefully to elude⁸ it, sayeng: we graunte that⁹ nature of breade remayneth styll thus, for¹⁰ that it may be scene, felte, and tasted: and yet the corporal substance of the bread therefore is gone, leaste two bodyes should be confused together, & Christe should be thought impanate.

What contrarietic and falsehead is in this answere, the symple man may easily perceauce.

¹ O adds, *Writing Ad Cæsarem (sic) Monachum*. See for the Latin, Add. Notes 30, 31.

² O, *he*

³ O om. *ad C. m.*

⁴ O, *abide*

⁵ See Add. Note 51.

⁶ O om. the words *These be . . . you*

⁷ O, *taught*

⁸ O, *delude*

⁹ O, *the*

¹⁰ O, *thus far*

Is not this a playne contrarietic, to graunt that the nature of bread remaineth so styl, that it may be sene, felt,¹ and tasted: and yet to say, the corporall substance is gone, to auoyde absurditie of Christes impanation? And² what manyfest falsehood is this, to say or meane, that if the bread should remayn styll, than must folow the inconuenience of impanation? As though the very breade coulde not be a sacrament of Christes bodye (as³ water is of baptisme) excepte Christe shulde vnite the nature of bread to his nature, in vnitie of persone, and make of the bread, God.

Now let vs hear Theodoretus,⁴ which is⁵ the last *Theodoret* of the three Greke autors. He wryteth in his dialoge *Contra Eutichen* thus. *He that calleth his⁶ naturall body, corne, and breade: and also named hym selfe a vyne tree: euen he the same hathe honoured the Symboles* (that is the sacra-
Dial. 1. mental signes⁷) wyth the names⁸ of his bodye and bloude, not chaungeinge in dede the nature it selfe, but adding grace vnto the nature.

What can be more playnlye sayed, than this,⁹ that this olde wrytour sayeth?¹⁰ that although

¹ O, felt, seen

³ O adds the

⁵ O om. which is

⁷ O, Figure

⁹ O adds is

² O, Or

⁴ See Add. Note 32.

⁶ O, called the

⁸ O, name

¹⁰ O om. this clause.

the Sacramentes beare the name of the body and bloude of christe, yet is not their nature chaunged, but abydeth stil. And where is than the papists transubstanciacion ?

The same wrytour to¹ the seconde dialoge of the same work against thafor said heretik *Eutiches*,² writeth yet more playnely agaynst this errour of transubstanciacion, yf any thyng can be sayde to be more playne. For he maketh the heretike to speke thus³ against hym that defendeth the true doctrine, whom he calleth *Orthodoxus*.

As the sacramentes of the body and bloud of our Lorde are one thyng before the inuocacion, and after the inuocation they be changed, and are made an other : so lykewise the Lordes body (sayth the heretike) is after the assumpcion or ascension into heauen, turned into the substance of God : the heretike meanyng therby, that Christ after his ascension, remayneth no more a man. To this *Orthodoxus* answereth thus, & sayth to the heretike : Thou art taken (saythe he) in thyne own snare. For those mystical symboles or sacraments after the sanctification doo not go out of theyr owne nature, but they tary & abyde styll in theyr substance, figure, and shape, yea & ar

¹ O, *in*

² O om. *against . . . Eutiches*

³ See Add. Note 33.

sensibly sene & groped to be y^e same they were before. &c.

At these woordes the Papistes doo startle : and to say the truthe, these wordes be so playne, so full, & so clere, that they can not telle, what to saye, but yet they wyll not ceasse to goe about to playe the cuttles,¹ and to caste their colours ouer theim, that the truthe whiche is so playnely tolde, shulde not haue place. This author wrote (sai they) before the determination of the church. As who wold say, what soeuer that wicked man Innocentius the Pope of Rome determined in his congregations with his monkes and friers,² that must be (for so Duns saythe) holden for an article, and of the substance of our faythe. Some do charge this author that he was suspected to be a Nestorian, which thing in Calcedon counsaile³ was tried and proued to be false. But the foulest shyfte of all,⁴ and yet the best that they can fynde in this matter,

¹ P.S. margin, *The Cuttle is a seafish which casteth as it were an ink about her, & so by making the water black escapeth taking.* Plin. lib. ix. cap. 4.

O omits *to go about . . . cuttles and*

² See *Works*, 246, for Ridley's remarks at Oxford about the Lateran Council : "you have not numbered how many abbots, priors, and friars were in that council." And see Add. Note 34.

³ See Add. Note 35.

⁴ See Add. Note 36, O om. *when none . . . say*

when none other wyll serue : is to say,¹ that Theodorete vnderstandeth by the worde ^{*D. More-*} (substance) accidentes, and nat substaunce ^{*man in the*} in deede. This glose is like a glose of ^{*conuoca-*} a lawyer vpon a decre, the text wherof beginneth ^{*cion*} thus : *Statuimus*, that is, *We decree*. The glose ^{*house*} of the lawyer there (after many other pretye² shiftes there³ sette furthe) whyche he thynketh wyll not welle serue to his pourpose, and therefore at the laste to cleare the mattier, he sayeth thus after the mind of one lawyer. *Vel Dic* ^{*Distinc.*} (sayth he)⁴ *Statuimus, id est, abrogamus*, ^{*ca. 4*} that is : *or expound*⁵ *we do decree*, that is, ^{*statuimus.*} *we*⁶ *abrogate or disauull*. Is not this a goodly, and worthy glose? who⁷ will nat say, but he is woorthy in the lawe, to be reteyned of counsaile, that can glose so well, and fynde in a matter of difficultie, suche fyne shiftes? And yet this is the lawe, or at least the glose of the lawe. And therfore who can telle, what peryll a manne may incurre to speke against it, except he were a lawyer in dede, whiche can kepe him selfe out of the briers, what wynde soeuer blowe?

¹ See Add Note 37.² O om. *pretty*³ O om. *there set . . . the mind of one lawyer*⁴ O om. (*saith he*)⁵ O om. *or expound*⁶ O adds *do*⁷ O om. from this point to the end of the paragraph.

Hytherto ye haue hearde three wryters of the Greeke Church, not all what they doo say : for that were a labour to great for to gather, and to tedious for the reader : But one or two places of euery one, the whiche howe playne, howe full,¹ and howe clere² they be agaynst the errour of transubstanciation, I referre it³ to the iudgemente of the indifferent reader. And nowe I wyll lykewyse⁴ reherse the sayenges of other three olde auncient wrytours of the latine church, and so make an end.

And fyrste I wyll begyn with Tertullian, whome *Tertullian* Cyprian the holy martyr so hyghly esteemed, that whensoever he woulde haue his booke, he was wonte to saye : Geue vs nowe the Maister.⁵ This old writer in his fourth boke agaynst Martian⁶ the heretike, saieth thus⁷ : *Jesus made the breade, whiche he tooke, and distributed to his Disciples, his bodye, sayenge : This is my bodye, That is to saye* (sayeth Tertulliane) *a fygure of my body.* In this place it is playne, that after Tertullianes exposition, Christ mente not by callyng the bread his bodye, and the wyne his bloudde, that eyther the breadde was the⁸ naturall bodye, or the wyne his

¹ O, clear² O, full³ O, here⁴ O, also⁵ O, Master's For the statement see Add. Note 38.⁶ O, Marcion⁷ O om, thus For the Latin see Add. Note 39. ⁸ O, his

naturall bloud, but he called them his body and bloudde, bycause he woulde institute them to be vnto vs sacramentes: that is, holy tokens and signes of his body and of his bloudde: that by theym remembrynge and firmly beleeuynge the benefites procured to vs by his bodye, whyche was torne and crucifyed for vs, and of his bloudde, whych was shedde for vs vppon the crosse: and so with thankes receauyng these holy sacramentes, accordyng to Christes institution, myght by the same be spiritually noryshed & fed to the encrease of al godlynes in vs here in our pilgrimage & iournaye, wherein we walke, vnto euerlastinge lyfe. This was vndoubtedly Christ our sauours minde, and thys is Tertullianes exposition. The wrangelynge that the Papistes doo make to clude² this sayeng of Tertullian, is so³ farre oute of frame, that it euen wearieth me to thinke on it.⁴ Tertullian writeth here (say they) as none hath doone hytherto before hym.⁵ This sayeng is tootoo manyfest⁶ false: for Origene, Hilarye, Ambrose, Basile, Gregorie Nazianzene,

¹ In the marginal note 16 is an original misprint for 161. See Add. Note 40.

² O, *delude*

³ O, *it is too*

⁴ O om. this clause.

⁵ O, *either before him or after him*

⁶ O, *tootoo manifestly*. "Tootoo" occurs often in the English Version of Bullinger's Decades.

saint Augustine, and other olde authours, lykewyse doo call the sacrament, a figure of Christes bodye. And where they saye, that Tertulliane wrote this, whan he was in a heate of disputation, with an heretique, couetyng by all meanes to ouerthrowe his aduersary.¹ As who² saye, he would not take hede, what he dyd saye, and specially what he woulde wryte in so hyghe a matter, so that he myght haue the better³ hande of his aduersarye. Is this credible to bee true in any godly wyse man? How much lesse than is it worthy to be thought or credited in a man of so great a wytte, learnyng, and excellency, as Tertullian is woorthilye esteemed euer to haue been?

Lykewyse this author in his fyrste booke agaynst the same heretike Martion, writeth thus: *God dyd not reiecte breade, whiche is his creature: for by it he hath made a representation of his bodye.*⁴ Now I praye you, what is this to say, that Christ hath made a representation (by bread) of his body,⁵ but that Christe hadde⁶ instituted and ordeyned bread to be a sacrament, for to represente vnto vs his body? Nowe whether the representation of one thyng by an other, requireth the

¹ O, *overcome his adversaries*

² O adds *would*

³ O, *upper*

⁴ See Add. Note 41.

⁵ O, *of his Body by Bread*

⁶ O, *hath*

corporall presence of the thyng which is so¹ represented or no, every man that hathe vnderstandyng, is hable in this point (the matter is so clere of it selfe) to be a sufficient iudge.

The seconde doctour and wrytour of the *Augustine* latine church, whose sayenges I promysed to sette foorth,² is S. Augustine: of whose learnyng and estimation, I neede not to speake. For all the church of Christ bothe hathe and euer hathe hadde hym for a man of most³ singular learnyng, witte, and diligence, bothe in settinge furthe the true doctryne of Christes religion, and also in the defence of the same against heretikes. This autor as he hathe written moste⁴ plentifullye in other matters of our faythe, so likewise in thys argumente he hathe written at large in many of his workes, so playnlye against this errour of transsubstanciacion, y^t the papistes loue least to hear of hym of al other wrytours: partlye for his autoritie, & partlye because he openeth the matter more fully, than anye other doth. Therefore I wyll rehearse mo places of him than hertofore I haue done of the other. And fyrst, what can be more playne, than that whyche he

¹ O om. *so*

² O om. this clause.

³ O, *much*

⁴ O, *more*

wryteth vpon the 89.¹ psalme, speaking of the sacramente ² of the Lordes bodye and bloud: and rehearsing (as it were) Christes wordes to his disciples, after this manner. It is not this body, which ye doo se, that ye shall eate, nother shal ye ³ drinke this bloud, which the souldyours y crucifie me, shal spill or shead. I doo commende vnto you a mysterie or a sacrament, which spiritually vnderstanded, shall geue you lyfe.

Now if Christe hadde no moo naturall and ⁴ corporall bodyes, but that one whiche they ⁵ than presently both heard and sawe, nor ⁶ other natural blood, but that which was in the same body, and the whiche the souldiours dyd afterwarde cruelly shedde vpon the crosse: and nother this bodye nor this bloude was (by thys declaration of S. Augustine) either to be eaten or dronken, but the mysterie thereof spirtuallye to be vnderstanded: than I conclude (if this sayenge and exposition of S. Augustine be true, that y^e mysterie whiche the disciples should eate, was not the naturall body of Christ but a mystery of the same spiritually to be vnderstanded. For as S. Augustine sayeth in his 20. boke *Contra Faustum. ca. 21*. Christes fleshe and

¹ O, *Ninety-eighth*. See Add. Note 42.

² O, *Sacraments*

³ O, *nor ye shall not*

⁴ O, *or*

⁵ O adds *there*

⁶ O, *and none*

bloud was in the olde testament promysed by similitudes and signes of their sacrifices, and was exhibited in dede and in truthe vpon the crosse but the same is celebrated by a sacrament of remembraunce vpon y^e aultar.¹ And in his boke *De fide ad Petrum*, ca. 19. he sayeth, that in these² sacrifices, meanyng of the olde law, it is figuratiuely signified, what was than to be geuen : but in this sacrifice it is euidently signified what is already geuen³ (vnderstanding in the sacrifice vpon the aultare) the remembraunce and thanks geuing for the flesh, which he offred for vs and for the bloude whiche he shedde for vs vpon the crosse : as in the same place & euidently there it may appeare.⁴

An other euidente and cleare place, wherein it appeareth, that by the sacramentall bread, which Christ called his bodye, he mente a figure of hys body. As⁵ vpon the .3. Psalme, where S. Augustine speakethe thys⁶ in playne termes. *Christe diddle admytte Iudas vnto the feast, in the whyche he commended vnto his Disciples the fygure of his bodye.* Thys was Christes last supper before hys passion,

¹ See Add. Note 44.

² O, *those*

³ See Add. Note 44.

⁴ O om. this clause.

⁵ O, *is*, and so P.S. The text must be a misprint.

⁶ O, *thus.* and om. *in plain terms.* See for the Latin Add. Note 45.

wherin he did ordaine the sacramente of hys body, as all learned men doo agree.¹

S. Augustine also in his, 23. epistle to *Bonifacius*² teacheth, howe sacramentes do beare the names of the thynges whereof they be sacramentes, bothe in Baptisme, and in the Lordes table, euen as we call euerye good frydaye, the daye of Christes passion: and euerye Easter daye, the daye of Christes resurrection:³ whan in verye dede there was but one daye wherein he suffred, and but one daye wherin he rose. And why doo we than call theym so, whyche are not so in dede, but bycause they are in lyke tyme and course of the yeare, as those dayes were, wherein those thynges were doone? *Was CHRIST*, sayth saynte Augustine, *offered any more but ones? And he offered hym selfe. And yet in a sacramente or representation not onely euery solempe feaste of Easter, but also euery daye to the people he is offered: so that he doothe not lye, that sayeth: He is euery daye offered. For yf Sacramentes had not some⁴ similitudes or lykenesse of those thynges, wherof they be Sacramentes, they coulde in no wyse bee Sacramentes: and for theyr similitudes or lykenesse*

¹ O om. this paragraph.

² O, in the 23 Epist. ad Bonifacium

³ See below, Append. ii. ⁴ O, no instead of *not some*

communely they haue the names of the thynges, wherof they bee sacramentes. Therefore as after a certayne maner of speache, the sacrament of Christes body is Christes body, the sacramente of Christes bloude, is Christes bloude, so lyke wyse the Sacrament of fayth is faythe.¹

After this maner of speache, as S. Augustine teachethe in his questions *Super Leuiti- Question. cum*, and *Contra Adamantium*,² it is 57. sayde in scripture,³ that .vij. eares of corne bee .vij. yeares: seuen kyen⁴ be seuen yeres, and the rocke was Christ: and⁵ bloud is the soule: the whyche laste sayeng (saythe S. Augustine in hys booke *Contra adamantinum*² is vnder- *Cap. 13.* standed to be spoken in a signe or figure. For the Lord him selfe did not sticke to saye, This is my body, whan he gaue the signe of his body. For we must not consider in sacramentes (sayth S. Augustin in an other place,⁶ what they *Contra* bee, but what they doo signifie: for they *Maximi- num.* be signes of thinges: beyng one thyng *li. ca. 22.* in them selues, and yet signifieng an other thing.

¹ See Add. Note 46.

² O, *Adamantium*. For the originals see Add. Notes 47, 48.

³ O om. *in scripture*

⁴ O, *Kyne*

⁵ O om. *and*

⁶ O, *contra Maximinum. lib. 3. cap. 22*

For the heauenly bread (sayeth he) speaking of the sacramental bread¹ by some maner of speche is called Christes body, whan in very² dede it is the sacrament of his body. &c.³

What can be more playne, or more clearely spoken, than are these places of S. Augustine before rehearsed,⁴ if men were not obstinatlye bente to maynteine an vntruthe, and to receue nothinge what so euer dothe set it furthe? Yet one place more of S. Augustine wil I allege, whiche is very cleare⁵ to this purpose, that Christes natural body is in heauen, and not here corporally in the Sacramente, and so let hym departe.⁶ In hys .50. treatise, whiche he wryteth⁷ vpon Iohn,⁸ he teacheth playnly and clearly, how Christ beinge⁹ bothe God and man, is bothe here after a certayn maner, and yet in heauen, and not here in hys naturall body and substaunce, whyche he toke of the blessed virgin Mary: speakinge¹⁰ thus of Christ, and sayeng:¹¹ By hys diuine Maiestie, by his prouidence, and by hys vn-

¹ O om. *speaking . . bread*

³ See Add. Note 49.

⁵ O om. *which . . cleare*

⁷ O om. *which he writeth*

⁸ O om. all from here to *the blessed Virgin Mary*

⁹ The *custos* here reads *being*

¹⁰ O, *he speaks*

² O om. *very*

⁴ O om. *before rehearsed*

⁶ O om. *this clause.*

¹¹ O om. *and saying*

speakeable & inuisible grace y^t is fulfilled which he spake: Behold, I am wyth you vnto the ende of the worlde. But as concernyng hys fleshe whyche he toke in his incarnation, as touching¹ that which was borne of the virgine, as concerning that which was apprehended by the Iewes & crucified vpon a tree, and taken down from the crosse, lapped in linnen clothes, & buried, and rose agayne, and appeared after hys resurrection, as concerning the² fleshe, he sayed: ye shall not euer haue me with you. Why so? For as concerning his fleshe, he was conuersaunt with his disciples .xl. dayes, and they accompanieng,³ seing and not folowing him, he went vp into heauen, and is not here. By y^e presence of his diuine maiestie he did not departe: as concerning y^e presence of his diuine maiestie, we haue Christ euer with vs: but as concerning y^e presence of his fleshe, he sayed truly to his disciples: Ye shal not euer haue me with you. For as concernyng the presence of his fleshe, the church had him but a fewe days: nowe it holdeth hym by fayth, though it see hym not.⁴

Thus much S. Augustine speaketh repetyng one thyng so often: and al to declare and teache, howe

¹ O, *concerning*

² O, *that*

³ O adds *him*

⁴ See Add. Note 50.

we shuld vnderstande the maner of Christes beyng here with vs: which is by his grace, by his prouidence, & by his diuine nature, and howe he is absent by his naturall body which was borne of the virgin Mary, died, and rose for vs, and is ascended into heauen, and ther sytteth, as is in the articles of our faithe, on the right hand of God, and thens (& from none other place saith S. Augustine) he shall come on the later day, to iudge the quick & the dead. At the whiche day the righteous shal than lyft vp their heades, and the lyght of goddes truthe shall so shyne, that falscheade and errours shall be put into perpetual¹ confusion: righteousnes shall haue the vpper hande, and truthe that daye shal beare away the victory, all thenemies thereof quite ouerthrowen, to be troden vnder foote for euermore. O Lorde, Lorde, I beseche the hasten thys² daye, than shalt thou be glorified wyth the glorie due vnto thy holye name, and vnto thy diuyn maiestye:³ and we shal syng vnto thee, in all ioye, and felicitie, laude and prayse for euer more. Amen.⁴

Here now woulde I make an ende. For me thinkes, S. Augustine is in this mater so full and playne, and of that autoritie, that it shoulde not

¹ O, *to utter*

² The *custos* here has *this*

³ O om. this clause.

⁴ O om. *Amen*

nede after this his declaration, being so firmelye grounded vpon Goddes worde, and so well agreynge wyth the other auncient autors,¹ to bring in² for the confrmation of thys matter anye moo³: and⁴ yet I sayed, I woulde alledge thre⁵ of the latin church, to testifye the truthe in this cause.⁶ Now⁷ therfore the last of all shalbe *Gelasius*, whiche was a bishop of Rome, but one that was byshop of that sea,⁸ before y^e wicked vsurpacion and tyrannye therof spredde & burst oute abrode in to all the worlde For thys man was before *Bonifacius* yea and *Gregorie* the furste: in whose dayes boothe corruption of doctryne and tirannicall vsurpation dyd chiefly growe, and hade the vpper hande.⁹

*Gelasius*¹⁰ in an epistle of the two natures *Gelasius*, of Christ, *Contra Eutichen*, writeth thus: *The sacramentes of the bodye and bloude of Christe, whiche we receaue, are godly thynges, wherby and by the same we are made partakers of the diuine nature,*

¹ O om. the last two clauses.

² O om. *in for . . matter*

³ O, *any more Authors*

⁴ O, *Yct because I promised to alledge*

⁵ O adds *writers*

⁶ O om. this clause.

⁷ O, *I will now alledge, last of all Gelasius,*

⁸ O om. this clause.

⁹ O, *over-hand*

¹⁰ See Add. Note 51.

*and yet neuethelasse the substaunce or nature of the¹
breade and wyne dothe not departe nor go away.*

Note these wordes I beseche you, and conside, whether any thinge can be more playnelyc spoken, than these wordes be² againste the errour of transubstanciation, whiche is the grounde and bytter roote, whervpon sprynge all the horryble erroours before rehearsed.

Wherfore seing that the falshead³ doth appeare so manifestlyc, and by so many wayes so playnlyc, so clearlyc and so fully, that no man nedeth to be deceaued, but he that wyll not see, or wyll not vnderstande: Let vs all that doo loue the truth, embrace it, and forsake the falsehede. For he that louethe the truthe, is of God: and the lacke of the loue thereof is the cause why God suffreth⁴ men to fall in to erroours, and to peryshe therein: yea and⁵ as S. Paule sayeth, why he⁶ sendeth vnto them illusions, y they belecue lyes, vnto theyr owne condemnacion: bycause (sayeth he)⁷ they loued not the truthe. This truthe no doubt is Goddes worde.

¹ O om. *the*

³ O adds *hereof*

⁵ O adds *the cause*

⁷ O om. (*saith he*)

² O om. *than these words be*

⁴ O *suffered*

⁶ O, *God*

For Christ hym selfe sayethe unto his
father: *Thy woorde is truthe.*¹ The 10 17
love and light wherof² almightie
God our heavenly father
geve us, and lyghten it in
our heartes by hys ha-
ly spirit, through Je-
sus Christe oure
Lorde. Amen.

*Vincit Veritas.*³

¹ O om. *For . . . truthe* ² O, *thereof*

³ O om. these words. P.S., *Vincet*. See above, 46, for the incident which probably suggested them to Ridley here.

ADDITIONAL NOTES TO THE "BRIEF DECLARATION."

1. P. 98. *Here Matthewe and Marke do agree . . . almost fully in the same form of words.* Ridley must have lacked his *Greek Testament* when he wrote, or he would have seen that the verbal agreement of the Evangelists is exact. "Gave thanks" (Matt.) and "Blessed" (Mark) both represent *εὐλογῆσας* in the consecration of the Bread; and "Gave thanks" in both represents *εὐχαριστήσας* in the consecration of the Cup.

2. P. 102. *Protestauntes.* Ridley uses the word only twice in his works, so far as I remember; here and below, p. 113. It is sparingly used by the English Reformers, and sometimes denotes the Germans specially (P.S., Zurich Letters, ii. 48). Harding, against Jewel, gives it as one of the names which mark the *variations* of the Reformation, and states its origin not quite accurately (P.S., Jewel, ii. 686): "the confessionists, who made confession of their faith . . . at *Auspurge*, anno Domini 1530, and for protestation of the same were called protestants." He should have said, at Speyer, A.D. 1529. But he rightly makes the word originate not in a negative but in a positive; in a protestation "*of their faith.*" It is almost needless to recall how cordially later English Divines accepted the word. So strict and devoted a Churchman as Bp Cosin avows himself in his will (*Works*, Anglo-Cath. Libr., i. xxxii.) as in concord with all Churches "professing the true Catholic faith and

religion . . . which I desire to be chiefly understood of protestants, and the best Reformed Churches." It is possible that here Cosin means Lutherans distinctively by "Protestants," and uses the word "Reformed" likewise distinctively. But the current language of his time is, I think, against the likelihood of this.

The word "Pharisees" is here and there used in reformed writings, by way of comparison, in attacking externalism in the Roman system. (P.S., Tyndale, ii. 42, 43.)

3. P. 102. *Messalonianes* . . . *Eutichetes*. "At the beginning of the last quarter of the 4th century or a little earlier, fanatics made their appearance in Syria . . . who were known by the Syriac name of Messalians or Massalians, (ܡܫܐܠܝܐ, praying people). Epiphanius . . . translates the name (εὐχόμενοι), but in the next generation the Messalians had obtained a technical name in Greek also, and were known as Euchites (εὐχίται or εὐχῖται)." "The use of the Lord's Supper they looked on as a thing indifferent; it could neither benefit the worthy nor harm the unworthy receiver." (G. Salmon, in Smith's *Dict. Chr. Biogr.*, s.v. *Euchites*.)

The reference in O to "*Trip. Hist. lib. 7. cap. 11*" is to a compilation from Sozomen, Socrates, and Theodoret, the work of Cassiodorus (*ob.* 595). It contains a long paragraph (from Theodoret) on the Messalians, otherwise εὐχίται, εὐθουσιασται, and reports them as saying of the *cibus divinus* that *nihil nec prodest nec laedit* (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* vol. 69, p. 1077).

4. P. 102. *Anabaptistes*. I do not find that this particular charge is repeated elsewhere by the English Reformers. Latimer, at Oxford (P.S., *Remains*, 252), allows a guarded use of the phrase "real presence," "lest some sycophant or scorner should suppose me, with the Anabaptist, to make nothing else of the Sacrament but a bare and naked sign."

5. P. 104. *The Iuye bushe*. Bradford (P.S., *Sermons*, 94) uses the "bush" as an illustration of the difference between "signs which signify *only*, and signs which also do

represent, confirm, seal up, and (as a man may say) give with their signification." "An ivy-bush" is an instance of the former, as "a sign of wine to be sold."

6. P. 108. *As the water in Baptisme.* See below, 227, for the same illustration and reasoning in Ratramn.

7. P. 111. *Euen as for example, we say, the same Sunne &c.* Cranmer had used the same illustration, in his Answer to Gardiner (P.S., Cranmer, *On the Lord's Supper*, 89—91): "We say, that as the sun is corporally ever in heaven, and no where else, and yet by his operation and virtue the sun is here in earth . . . so likewise our Saviour Christ bodily & corporally is in heaven . . . although spiritually He hath promised to be present with us upon earth"; &c.

See below, 275, for a somewhat similar remark of Ridley's in the Debate, 1548.

8. P. 115. *Doo thys in remembraunce of me.* Ridley takes the same line here as in the Conversation in the Tower; see below, Append. iv.

It is noteworthy that we never find him met in this argument by the assertion or suggestion that *τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν* means, in effect, "Offer this as my (sacrificial) Memorial." This view of the words was not present, as far as it appears, to his opponents' minds. See below, 248, for Ratramn's treatment of this matter. On the interpretation alluded to, a recent Essay may be referred to, by Dr T. K. Abbott, Librarian of Trinity College, Dublin; *This do in Remembrance of Me* (Longmans, 1893).

9. P. 117. *Latelye renewed nowe in our dayes &c.* The marginal note, *Mar. Antho. Constan. Gardiner*, tells us (for the first time explicitly) that he is dealing with Gardiner's Answer to Cranmer, under the pseudonym of *M. Antonius Constantius*, of Louvain. This book appeared in 1552. In the copy in the Cambridge Library the title page runs:

Confutatio Cavillationum quibus sacrosanctum Eucharistiæ Sacramentum, ab impiis Capernaitis, impeti solet, Authore Marco Antonio Constantio, Theologo Lovaniensi. Parisiis,

Apud Joannem de Roigny, in via Jacobea sub insigni quatuor Elementorum. 1552. *Cum privilegio Regis.*¹

The preface tells the story of a man who spread a feast in which all the dishes were swine's flesh. Et sane ut suilla caro omnium fere crassissima et maxime fatua sit, ita de iis ego responderim argumentis nihil illis esse aut stolidius aut magis insipidum, et una item stultitia, quasi dicas suilla carne, constare omnia. This was an unhopeful tone in which to approach the theme with a view to truth. But the book has no lack of controversial ability.

See notes 17, 18 below on Innocent III. and Duns.

10. P. 118. *The sacramentall breade is the mysticall body*; that is, the Church of Christ. See this argued (after Augustine) by Ratramn below, 241, 247.

11. P. 120. *As Innocentius that pope did say.* I have not been able to verify this reference. The Epistle referred to contains much material akin to the question (see note 17), but not this particular point.

12. P. 121. *Euen they that doo write mooste fynely in these our dayes.* The margin here has "Gardener to the .48. obiection."

This is an evident misprint for "the .84." Gardiner's book, is arranged in 255 sections. Each contains an *Objicetur* which gives the "heretic's" (Cranmer's) statement; this is then met by the *Respondet Catholicus* of the author.

Objicetur 84.

Papistæ nesciunt quibus verbis consecratio fiat. Nam Scotus et Innocentius Tertius dicunt consecrationem esse in verbo (Benedicit). Alii dicunt in iis verbis, (Iube hæc perferri), alii in iis (Hoc est Corpus meum). Hæc varietas arguit ignorantiam. Sed quod incertum est non debet poni pro doctrina: tum si sint incerti de consecratione, sunt

¹ I find (in Trin. Coll., Cambridge) a later edition, *Lovanii*, 1544, *Authore Stephano Winton. Episcop. Angliæ Cancellario.*

etiam incerti de præsentia. Ergo præsentia realis Christi non debet poni pro doctrina Christi.

Respondet Catholicus.

. . . Quidquid Scotus aut Innocentius de verbis consecrationis senserint, consenserunt esse consecrationem, et quemadmodum ut ad illud Basilii alludam λαβεῖν ἐστὶν ὅτε δὴ ποτε τὸ λαβεῖν, sic consecrare, quandocunque et quibuscunque verbis fit in illa Liturgia, Christus certe consecrat, illorum iudicio, unde nobis efficitur realis presentia, quæ est doctrina ecclesiæ, ab ipsis ecclesiæ incunabulis comprobata. Sed et de verbis consecrationis illud obtinuit, ut verba illa (Hoc est corpus meum) illa sint, quibus fides nostra innitatur quomodo Patres concordi testimonio testati sunt, utcunque fuerit ab aliquibus privato iudicio, quacunque tandem de causa, ex verbis consecrationis variatum: quæ varietas, quando doctrinam realis præsentiæ non attingit, nihil obstat quod obijcitur hoc argumento.

13. P. 122. *The order of priesthod, whiche (they say) is geven by vertue of these wordes sayde by the Bysshoppe: Take thou autoritie to sacrifice &c. The words in the Roman Ordinal are: Accipe potestatem offerre sacrificium Deo, missasque celebrare, tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis. In nomine Domini. Amen.* This is accompanied by the delivery of the chalice with wine and water and the paten with the host. The imposition of hands, in silence, has taken place some time before. But not till the formula above quoted has been used are the candidates called, in the Ritual, *ordinati sacerdotes*. The Council of Florence (1439) says that "the matter or visible sign of the Order of Priesthood" is the delivery of the Vessels and the formula quoted. Morinus, the Roman church antiquarian (*de Sacris Ordinationibus, Pars iii, Exercit. vii. cap. i. § 12—16*), shews that there is no trace of this usage or belief before the tenth century.

14. P. 127. *Sainte Augustin in his boke &c.* The original

runs thus : Si autem flagitium aut facinus videtur jubere, aut utilitatem aut beneficentiam vitare, figurata est. Nisi manducaveritis, inquit, carnem Filii hominis, et sanguinem biberitis, non habebitis vitam in vobis. Facinus vel flagitium videtur jubere : figura est ergo, præcipiens passioni Dominicæ communicandum, et suaviter atque utiliter recondendum in memoria quod pro nobis caro Ejus crucifixa et vulnerata sit. (*De doct. Chr.* iii. 16.) He is in course of stating, illustrating and discussing Tyconius' *Seven Rules* for the interpretation of Scripture.

15. P. 128. *And here I can not but meruayle &c.* The margin has here, "Gardiner in his answers to the 161. & 226. objection." The passages in Gardiner are :

Objicitur 161.

Objicitur ex eodem Tertulliano, lib. 4 contra Marcionem. Acceptum panem et distributum discipulis, corpus suum illum fecit, Hoc est corpus meum dicendo, id est, figura corporis mei. Figura autem non esset nisi veritatis esset corpus.¹

Gardiner quotes St Basil the Great (*Ep.* 64) defending a perilously worded statement of Gregory's (of Neocæsarea) against Ælian : ὅτι οὐ δογματικῶς εἴρηται, ἀλλὰ ἀγωνιστικῶς, and proceeds below : Nunc venio ad Tertullianum, qui in contentione cum Marcionistis eam verborum Christi interpretationem explicavit, quam ante eum nemo, nec post eum quisquam catholicus tanquam ex ore Christi, etiamsi figuram et signum dixerint, quamvis non solam. Licet enim visibilem panis speciem quæ manet, propter veram corporis præsentiam (quæ subsit et adsit), figura dicatur præsentis corporis, tum autem signum, symbolum, sacramentum ; Christi tamen verba sensu suo proprio, dum diceret, Hoc est corpus, veritatem substantiæ corporis vere præsentis exprimunt, non significant figuram. Unde Theophilactus annotavit, non dixisse Christum, Hoc est figura corporis mei : sed, Hoc est corpus meum. Quæ quum ita sint, nonne de Tertulliano nos,

¹ *I. e.* unless there were (another) body, that of "verity" or literality.

quemadmodum de Gregorio Basilius, recte dicemus, non dogmaticōs (*sic*) sed ἀγωνιστικῶς scripsisse hæc Tertullianum, ut argumento a figura ducto Marcionistas vinceret hæreticos?

Objicitur 226.

Objicitur item ex Augustino, illud de doctrina christiana, lib. 3, cap. 16, figuratam esse locutionem, Nisi manducaveritis carnem filii hominis, et quæ sequuntur; quia flagitium videtur præcipi.

Respondet Catholicus.

Mysteriorum ignaris figurata est locutio, sed fideles norunt, quibus credentibus Christus aperuit modum, ut nihil prohibeat eandem locutionem fidelibus et spiritualibus esse propriam quæ tamen infidelibus et carnalibus sit figurata, quorum judicio videatur continere flagitium. Proceeding, he grants the utterance to be figurative so far as it points to our union with Christ's sufferings, our meditation on Christ's death, our reign with Him in glory; but he asserts that all this has to be *met* from another side by Christ, in His Sacrament, with a literal presence of His Flesh and Blood.

16. P. 130. *The latin Masse . . addeth to the woordes of Christ spoken upon the cuppe these wordes, Misterium fidei.* This is noticed by Innocent III. (*Ep.* v. 121: Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* vol. 214, 1118), in answer to certain questions from John, Archbishop of Lyons, about non-scriptural insertions in the Canon, particularly *elevatis oculis in cælum* and *mysterium fidei*. The Pope defends them by possible unwritten tradition, and by internal fitness or probability. Incidentally he reprobates the opinion that, because Scripture sometimes speaks of *id quod in altari suscipitur* as *sacramentum, mysterium, exemplum*, therefore it is only the *imago, et species, et figura* of the Body. He leaves unsolved the questions whether the water (in the chalice) is turned into blood; perhaps it remains, surrounded by the *accidentia prioris vini*.

17. P. 132. *To speake of this oblation &c.* See below, Append. iv., for extracts from Ridley's language elsewhere on this subject.

18. P. 133. *Yet there remayneth one wayne Quidditie of Duns &c.* Here the margin has: "Gardener in the answer to the xv. objection."

Objicitur 15.

Nesciunt quid demonstretur per (hoc) in verbis Christi. Nam quidam dicunt demonstrari id quod antea fuit, et tunc sequitur quod panis materialis est corpus Christi. Alii dicunt demonstrari corpus, et tum valet propositio, corpus meum est corpus meum. Alii dicunt demonstrari nec panem nec corpus, sed *individuum vagum*, et *individuum in genere*, vel nescio quam mathematicam quidditatem. Vide in quæ proruunt et in quibus angustiis tenentur dum hanc monstrosam præsentiam fingunt.

Gardiner quotes against the first dilemma the phrase (Joh. ii.) *gustavit aquam vinum factum*. He defends Duns by explaining the *individuum vagum*. Demonstratio (hoc) integram rei naturam non penetrat, sed quatenus ibi individuum sit, illud unum notat, nec tamen aliquas illius individui notas exprimit quibus mens nostra a vagabunda de re cogitatione ad certos cognitionis terminos reducatur. Ideoque demonstrat pronomen (Hoc) individuum quidem, ut dixi, sed (vagum) illud, non rei proprietati affixum, tantum in genere Enunciativum, hoc est, nihil aliud quam individuum quod animi nostri conceptione generalius ipso individuo integro est, quod est quasi dicas individuum individui. The noun added to the pronoun makes an *individuum insignitum*.

I suppose the following to be the passage in Duns Scotus referred to by Gardiner and Ridley:

(*Sententiæ* IV. *Dist.* viii. *Qu.* II.) *Quæstio*. Utrum illa sit forma præcisa consecrationis Eucharistiæ quæ ponitur in Canone Missæ?

(Datur individuum genericum.) Prius quodcumque universale potest intelligi descendere in proprium singulare quam contrahatur per differentiam aliquam ad aliquid inferius, tanquam ad speciem; ut sic habeamus ordinem istorum singularium, hoc ens, hæc substantia, hoc corpus, et sic deinceps usque ad Socratem.

Hoc in proposito demonstrat singulare entis, et non per se singulare alicujus minus universalis quam ens. Quod probatur primo quia rationabiliter quæritur de multis, Quid est hoc? non teneri autem idem supponitur, et quæritur. Igitur non supponitur per locutionem *hoc*, hoc lignum, vel hoc lapis; quia illud quæritur. . . . De illo ergo singulari supponitur hoc tantum ut est singulare entis, et quæritur aliquid specialis sub ente.

19. P. 136. *But O good Lorde &c.* The margin has, just below, "Gard. to the .13. objection."

Objicitur 13.

Sensus hujus propositionis, Hoc est corpus meum, vel est literalis vel tropicus. Sensus literalis quem unusquisque sensu communi præditus ex forma verborum colligit, est hic; quod panis quem Christus accepit in manus sit corpus Christi, quod est falsum: nam unum disparatum non prædicatur de altero nisi per significationem, ut petra est Christus. Ergo verus sensus istius est tropicus, quod panis quem Christus accepit in manus est figura corporis ejus, vel significat corpus.

Gardiner writes in answer an almost treatise. He denies the relevancy of the example, "That Rock was Christ," as a true collocation of two "disparates." In the case of the words of Institution he says that the word *body*, a disparate, is predicated of the pronoun *this*, which only shews that the thing is, in eo quod demonstratur, unum, nec altius in ejus naturam penetrat: exempli gratia, Hoc est vinum, Hoc est mel. He proceeds below: Quidnam est hoc? cui quæstioni si qualitas sit in prædicato protinus satisfit in subjecto explicata

substantia, veluti si dicente me, Hoc est dulce, quærat quis quidnam est hoc? vinum inquam si dixerò quæstionem absolvi. He points out that Christ does not say "This *bread* is my Body." Secundum naturam pronominis, Christus illud (hoc), videlicet hoc unum quod erat in manibus, dixit esse corpus suum, non sermone solum indicatorio . . sed operatorio . .

After a long catena of patristic quotations, in which however the question always remains open whether the phrases used are meant in symbol or in the letter, he exclaims that thus speaks Antiquity, but new men risen in these latter times claim our submission to their teaching, tenebricosi quidam paucissimi illi, et suo scelere clari, vel infames potius, Berengarium dico, Witlecfum, Ecolampadium, Zuinglium, Joachimum Vadianum. Nam reliqui si qui fuerint minorum gentium dii, testes falsi illi quoque, sed cum istis qui aliquid videbantur haud connumerandi.

20. P. 141. *Tushe sayeth this third man &c.* The margin has, "Gard. to the .84. objection." See above, note 12.

21. P. 144. *Origen . . . sayeth thus &c.* The original is as follows :

πάν τὸ εἰσπορευόμενον εἰς τὸ στόμα εἰς κοιλίαν χωρεῖ καὶ εἰς ἀφεδρῶνα ἐκβάλλεται · καὶ τὸ ἁγιαζόμενον βρῶμα διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ καὶ ἐντεύξεως, κατ' αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ ὑλικόν, εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν χωρεῖ καὶ εἰς ἀφεδρῶνα ἐκβάλλεται · κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιγινομένην αὐτῷ εὐχήν, κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως, ὡφέλιμον γίγνεται, καὶ τῆς τοῦ νοῦ αἰτίας διαβλέψεως, ὁρῶντος ἐπὶ τὸ ὠφέλουν · καὶ οὐχ ἡ ὕλη τοῦ ἄρτου ἀλλ' ὁ ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἰρημένος λόγος ἐστὶν ὁ ὠφελῶν τὸν μὴ ἀναξίως τοῦ Κυρίου ἐσθίοντα αὐτόν. (*In Matth.*, *Hom.* xi. vol. iii. pp. 499, 500.)

22. P. 146. *In the disputations which were . . in the parliament house &c.* A set debate was held in the House of Lords,¹ Dec. 15, 17, 18, 1548, on the Real Presence and Transubstantiation (two questions always regarded as distinct). The Roman Catholic scholar Father Gasquet a few years ago discovered, in the British Museum, a manu-

¹ See above, 14.

script (*MS. Reg. 17. B. xxxix.*) containing a contemporary report or précis of this debate. This he has printed (pp. 395—443) in his book *Edward the VI. and the Book of Common Prayer* (Hodges, 1890). It has been copied afresh, in its original spelling, prefaced, and annotated, by Mr J. T. Tomlinson,¹ with characteristic fulness of knowledge and with great critical care. Mr Tomlinson corrects some not unimportant lapses in Father Gasquet's transcription, and in a valuable preliminary essay disposes completely, as it seems to me, of his suggestion that Cranmer had actually tampered with the draft of the First Prayer Book between its drawing up and the debate. The "alterations" referred to by the anti-reforming debaters are alterations not in the new English Book but *in the old Missal* regarded as the predecessor of the English Communion Office; alterations which were so much "above board" as to be the chief topics of debate. "There exists no real ground," says Mr Tomlinson, p. 23, "for imputing to Cranmer conduct which would have been not merely base but necessarily futile."

Some contributions to this Debate are given below, Append. iv. The Disputations at Oxford and Cambridge were held in 1549; the latter under Ridley's presidency.² See Foxe, vi. 297 &c., 305 &c.

23. P. 146. *The good old authors . . . set foorth of late.* None of the writers here mentioned by Ridley appeared in print till after the year 1551.

24. P. 147. *Some which haue written sence that tyme &c.* Here the margin has, "Gard. to the .166."

Objicitur 166.

Objicitur ex eodem in Matthæum cap. 15. Panis sanctificatus, juxta id quod habet materiale, in ventrem abit et in secessum ejicitur. Hæc nefas est de corpore Christi cogitare.

¹ *The great Parliamentary Debate &c.* (Shaw & Co.).

² See above, 15.

Respondet Catholicus.

Non de Eucharistia loquitur Origenes, sed de pane sanctificato per verbum Dei et orationem, quem communiter manducamus, vel de eo qui solebat dari catechumenis (de quo Augustinus, *de peccatorum meritis*, li. 2, ca. 26). Tum autem Erasmus in annotationibus suis refert consuesse in veteri ecclesia, quod et ad nostra tempora duravit, panem sanctificare, qui Eucharistiæ memoriam refricaret. De quo etiam in suis Liturgiis Basilius et Chrysostomus fecerunt mentionem, qua dicunt sacerdotem oratione peracta frustatum dividere iis qui non communicaverant corpori et sanguini Christi, quod Græce dicit *ἀντίδορον*.

25. P. 148. *The seconde of the two newe found answers &c.* Margin; "Gard. in the same place." The passage thus referred to is as follows :

. . Sed ut demus ita esse, materiæ nomine intellexit quod est visibile et palpabile, quibus accidentibus, quum corruptuntur, redire per miraculum substantiam, ut quod a miraculo cœpit in miraculum desinat, non sit omnino alienum ab hoc mysterio cogitare.

26. P. 150. *Origene in the .ii. Homilie &c.* The passage is as follows ; we possess it not in Origen's Greek but in the Latin version of Ruffinus :

Est enim in Evangeliiis littera quæ occidet ; non solum in veteri testamento littera occidensprehenditur. Est et in novo testamento littera quæ occidet eum qui non spiritualiter ea quæ dicuntur adverterit. Si enim secundum litteram sequaris hoc ipsum quod dictum est, Nisi manducaveritis carnem meam et biberitis sanguinem meum, occidit hæc littera. (Origen. ed. Bened. vol. ii. p. 225, *Hom. super Levit.* vii. The ". ii." in Ridley is an error.)

27. P. 151. *A place of S. Augustine &c.* On this passage, and Ridley's remarks now following, see above, notes 16, 20.

28. P. 151. *Nowe to Chrysostome.* The passage exists

only in Latin, and in the Benedictine edition (Paris, p. lxiii, at the end of vol. vi.) it is marked as perhaps spurious. It is as follows :

Si ergo vasa sanctificata ad privatos usus transferre sic periculosum est, in quibus non est verum corpus Christi, sed mysterium corporis ejus continetur, quanto magis vasa corporis nostri, quæ sibi Deus ad habitaculum præparavit, non debemus locum dare diabolo agendi in eis quod vult.

29. P. 152. *Naye (sayeth an other) &c.* Margin, "Gardi. to the. 198. objection."

Objicitur 198.

Objicitur ex eodem in homilia 11. super Matthæum, opere quod dicitur imperfectum. In sanctis inquit vasis non esse corpus Christi sed mysterium corporis et sanguinis Christi.

Respondet Catholicus.

De vasis veteris testamenti loquitur, quæ Balthazar ausus sit prophanare, quamvis Erasmus notet vel librum menda, vel authorem libri illius hæresi hac esse corruptum. Et tamen qui in mysteriis enarrandis ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι περὶ ῥήματι solent, faterentur etiam aliquo sensu in vasis nostris non contineri sanguinem Christi sed mysterium sanguinis, significantes verum sanguinem in mysterio nobis adesse quidem at non ut in loco, quum tamen ambiente vase contineri, quandam loci rationem videatur referre. Sed quum ad eam subtilitatem Chrysostomus hic loquutus non sit, verba ejus huc valent ut ostendant sacramenta nostra tantum ab illis veterum sacramentis distare ut nudæ illis figuræ rerum significativæ, nobis autem simul adsit cum figura res, ut verum corpus & verus sanguis in nostris vasis esse possint, et sunt.

30. P. 154. *An other shorte place of Chrysostom &c.* This passage (we possess it only in Latin) will be found below, note 31, quoted in the course of the *Objicitur*; beginning *Sicut enim antequam*, and ending, *etiamsi natura panis in ipso permansit.*

31. P. 155. *Some are not ashamed thus shamefully to elude it.* Margin, "Gard. to the 202 objection." This must be a misprint for "the 201."

Objicitur 201.

Objicitur præterea ex Chrysostomo ad Cæsarium monachum : [ed. Bened. vol. ii. p. 744] Et Deus et homo est Christus, Deus propter impassibilitatem, homo propter passionem, unus filius, unus Dominus, idem ipse procul dubio, unitarum naturarum, unam dominationem, unam potestatem possidens (etiamsi non consubstantialiter existunt) et una quæque incommixta, proprietatis conservat agnitionem, propter hoc quod inconfusa sunt duo. Sicut enim antequam sanctificetur panis, panem nominamus, divina autem illud sanctificante gratia, mediante sacerdote, liberatus est quidem appellatione panis, dignus autem habitus est dominici corporis appellatione, etiamsi natura panis in ipso permansit, et non duo corpora, sed unum filii corpus prædicatur.¹ Sic et hæc divina ἐνδρυσάσης, id est, inundante corporis natura, unum filium, unam personam, utraque hæc fecerunt.

Respondet Catholicus.

Non est hoc Joannis Chrysostomi sed Joannis cujusdam Constantinopolitani. Et hic vide quid ab Eucharistiae similitudine conetur docere, videlicet non naturarum in Christo perfectionem, sed consistentiam, ut sicut in Eucharistia duæ sint naturæ incommixtæ, agnitionem proprietatis conservantes sine confusione : ita et in Christo. Atque ideo notat in Eucharistia naturam panis manere, quod et ecclesia fatetur hactenus, ut videatur, palpetur, gustetur, & corrumpatur juxta naturæ proprietatem, sed quemadmodum hic dicit non duo corpora sed unum corpus filii Dei prædicari, hoc ecclesia similiter transubstantiatione prædicat, unam esse corporis Christi substantiam, ne dicamus simul esse et panem et corpus, sed unam substantiam corporis filii Dei

¹ I follow Gardiner's punctuation here as elsewhere.

quod substantia panis manente, induceret absurdum impanationis. Qui hæc Græca transtulit illa non intellexit, non est enim (ἐκκλυσσάσης) inundante : sed firmante humanam corporis naturam.

Doubt has been thrown on the genuineness of the *Epistola ad Cæsarium*. It was first published by the Italian Reformer, Peter Martyr, and at once “declared by his opponents to be a forgery of his own ; but Bigotius, who had transcribed it from a MS. in the library of St Mark’s Monastery,¹ at Florence, asserted and proved to the satisfaction of the learned that it was the work of Chrysostom. The sheets were however cancelled, and the publication of them prohibited.” A few fragments only are extant in Greek (Ridley’s *Works*, Note B, 509).

Ridley in his Determination at Cambridge (*Works*, 174) used the *Ep. ad Cæs.*, “albeit he be not received of divers.” And he refers to it again at Oxford, in the Disputation (*Works*, 205).

32. P. 156. *Let us heare Theodoretus*. The original is as follows :

‘Ο γὰρ δὴ τὸ φύσει σῶμα σῖτον καὶ ἄρτον προσαγορεύσας, καὶ αὖ πάλιν ἑαυτὸν ἄμπελον ὀνομάσας, οὗτος τὰ δρώμενα σύμβολα τῇ τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος προσηγορίᾳ τετίμηκεν, οὐ τὴν φύσιν μεταβαλὼν, ἀλλὰ τὴν χάριν τῇ φύσει προστεθεικώς. (Theodoret, Dial. i., entitled Ἀτρέπτω. ed. Schutze, vol. iv. 26.)

33. P. 157. *The same wrytour &c.* The original is as follows :

Ἐρανίστης. Ὡςπερ τοίνυν τὰ σύμβολα τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ σώματος τε καὶ αἵματος ἄλλα μὲν εἰσι πρὸ τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἐπικλήσεως, μετὰ δέ γε τὴν ἐπικλήσιν μεταβάλλεται καὶ ἕτερα γίνεται · οὕτω τὸ δεσποτικὸν σῶμα, μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν, εἰς τὴν οὐσίαν μετεβλήθη τὴν θείαν.

Ὁρθόδοξος. Ἐάλως αἷς ὕφηνας ἄρκυσιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ μετὰ τὸν ἁγιασμὸν τὰ μυστικὰ σύμβολα τῆς οἰκείας ἐξίσταται φύσεως· μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας καὶ τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τοῦ εἴδους, καὶ ὁρατὰ ἐστί καὶ ἅπτά, οἷα καὶ πρότερον ἦν. (Dial. ii., entitled Ἀσυγχύτω. ed. Schultze, vol. iv. 126.)

¹ The Library of San Marco is now denuded of its books.

34. P. 158. *What socuer that wicked man Innocentius . . . determined in his congregations . . . that must be (for so Duns saythe) holden for an article & of the substance of our faythe.*

The Innocentian Article, the first authoritative statement of Transubstantiation, is as follows. It forms the first of the decrees of the Concilium Lateranense Quartum, held in 1215 :

Una est fidelium universalis ecclesia, extra quam nullus omnino salvatur. In qua Idem Ipse Sacerdos et Sacramentum Jesus Christus, cujus corpus et sanguis in sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis et vini veraciter continentur, transubstantiatis pane in corpus et vino in sanguinem, potestate divina, ut ad perficiendum mysterium unitatis accipiamus ipsi de suo quod accepit Ipse de nostro. Et hoc utique sacramentum nemo potest conficere nisi sacerdos qui fuerit rite ordinatus secundum claves ecclesiæ, quas ipse concessit apostolis et eorum successoribus Jesus Christus. (*Concilia*, ed. Labbe and Cossart, *tom. xi. pars i. col. 143.*)

35. P. 158. *In Calcedon counsaile.* It was on Oct. 26, 451. Theodoret, after years of painful and embittered controversy, and at length deposed from his see of Cyrrhus, anxious to vindicate his suspected orthodoxy, appeared in the Council prepared to anathematize not his friend Nestorius, but the doctrine said to be Nestorian. At length by persistent clamour he was induced to name Nestorius. The assembly then acclaimed him as "worthy of his throne," and he was immediately restored by a unanimous vote. (See Smith's *Dict. Chr. Biogr.*, iv. 915.)

36. P. 158. *The foulest shyfte of all &c.* Margin, "D. Moreman in the convocacion house." In the debate of Oct. 18, 1553, when (amongst others) Philpot, afterwards martyr, defended the reformed doctrine with great ability and courage, Moreman, an Oxford doctor, is reported thus (Foxe, vi. 397) : "He came to Theodoret, and said that men mistook his authority by interpreting a general into a special,

as Peter Martyr hath done in that place of Theodoret, interpreting *οὐσία* for substance, which is a special signification of the word ; whereas *οὐσία* is a general word, as well to accidents as to substance ; and therefore I answer thus unto Theodoret, That the sacramental bread and wine do not go out of their former substance, form and shape ; that is to say, not out of their accidental substance and shape."

37. P. 159. *A glose of a lawyer.* The passage is as follows :

Statuimus ut septem hebdomadas plenas ante sanctum pascha omnes clerici in sortem Domini vocati a carne jejurent : quia sicut discreta debet esse vita clericorum a laicorum conversatione ita et in jejuniis debet esse discreta. Has ergo septem hebdomadas omnes clerici a carne et deliciis jejurent, et hymnis et vigiliis atque orationibus inhærere die noctuque studeant. *Statuimus* : id est *abrogamus* : vel ponit *statuimus* pro *consulimus*. (*Decretum Gratiani, ad init., Distinctio iv.*)

38. P. 160. *Geve us nowe the Maister.* We owe this incident to Jerome, *de Viris Illustribus, cap. 53.* (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, vol. 23, col. 661.) He says that he knew one Paulus, who in his early youth had seen at Rome the then aged man who had been Cyprian's secretary (*notarius*). This man had related how Cyprian never passed a day without reading Tertullian, and often said to him, *Da Magistrum, Tertullianum videlicet significans.*

39. P. 160. *Tertullian . . . saith thus.* The passage is as follows :

Acceptum panem et distributum discipulis corpus suum illum fecit, Hoc est corpus meum dicendo ; id est, figura corporis mei. (*adv. Marc. iv. c. 40, ed. Oehler, vol. ii. 267.*)

40. P. 161. *Tertullian writeth here (say they) &c.* He refers to Gardiner, *Obj. 161.* See above, note 17. The margin here again gives 16 in error for 161.

41. P. 162. *Lyke wyse this author.* The passage is as follows :

Sed ille quidem usque nunc nec aquam reprobavit Creatoris qua suos abluit, nec deum quo suos ungit nec mellis et lactis societatem qua suos infantat, nec panem quo ipsum corpus suum repræsentat. (*adv. Marc.* i. c. 14, ed. Oehler, vol. ii. 62.)

42. P. 164. *Upon the .89. Psalmc.* It should be .98. The passage is as follows :

Non hoc corpus quod videtis manducaturi estis, et bibituri illum sanguinem quod fusuri sunt qui me crucifigent. Sacramentum aliquod vos commendavi, [quod] spiritaliter intellectum vivificabit vos. (*In psalm.* xcviij., ed. Bened. vol. iv. col. 1066.) This passage had come up in the Disputation at Oxford (*Works*, 234).

43. P. 164. *In his boke Contra Faustum.* The passage is as follows :

Hujus sacrificii caro et sanguis ante adventum Christi per victimas similitudinum¹ promittebatur, in passione Christi per ipsam veritatem reddebatur, post ascensum Christi per sacramentum memoriæ celebratur. (*contr. Faustum Manichæum*, xx. c. 98. ed. Bened. vol. viii. col. 348.)

Ridley had used this passage in his Determination (*Works*, 179).

44. P. 165. *In his boke de fide ad Petrum.* This is now recognized as the work not of Augustine but of Fulgentius, a century later (*ob.* 533). See Ed. Bened. Augustini, vol. vi., *Append.*, col. 17, 18. The editors, following Erasmus, speak of Fulgentius as the *indubitatus auctor*. The passage is as follows :

In illis carnalibus victimis figuratio (*al.* significatio) fuit carnis Christi, quam pro peccatis nostris ipse sine peccato fuerat oblaturus, et sanguinis quem erat effusus in remissionem peccatorum nostrorum ; in isto autem sacrificio gratiarum actio atque commemoratio est carnis Christi quam pro nobis obtulit et sanguinis quem pro nobis idem Deus effudit. (See Fulgentius ; Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, vol. 65, col. 699.)

¹ So the Benedictines, not *victimarum similitudinem*.

45. P. 165. *As upon the .3. Psalme.* The passage is as follows :

Cum adhibuit ad convivium in quo corporis et sanguinis sui figuram discipulis commendavit et tradidit. (*In Psalm.* iii. ed. Bened. vol. iv. col. 7.)

46. P. 166. *In his .23. epistle to Bonifacius.* The passage is as follows :

Nonne semel immolatus est Christus in seipso? et tamen in sacramento non solum per omnes Paschæ sollemnitates sed omni die populis immolatur, nec utique mentitur qui interrogatus eum responderit immolari. Si enim sacramenta quandam similitudinem earum rerum quarum sacramenta erant non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent; ex hac autem similitudine plerumque etiam ipsarum nomina accipiunt. Sicut ergo, secundum quendam modum, sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est, sacramentum sanguinis Christi sanguis Christi est, ita sacramentum fidei fides est. (*Epist.* xxiii. ed. Bened. vol. ii. col. 267.)

See below, 231, for the use of this passage by Ratramn. Ridley had used it in his Determination; *Works*, 178.

47. P. 167. *As S. Augustine teacheth.* The passage is as follows :

Solet autem res quæ significat ejus rei nomine quam significat nuncupari, sicut scriptum est, septem spicæ septem anni sunt; non enim dixit, septem annos significant. Septem boves septem anni sunt, et multa hujusmodi. Hinc est quod dictum est, Petra erat Christus; non enim dixit, Petra significat Christum, sed tanquam hoc esset quod utique per substantiam non hoc erat, sed per significationem. Sic et sanguis quoniam propter vitalem quandam corpulentiam animam significat in sacramentis, anima dictus est. (*Quæst.* 57, *lib.* iii. ed. Bened. vol. iii. col. 516.)

48. P. 167. *In hys booke* Contra adamantinum. The passage is as follows :

Nam ex eo quod scriptum est sanguinem pecoris animam ejus esse, præter id quod supra dixi, non ad me pertinere

quid agatur de pecoris anima, possum etiam interpretari præceptum illud, in signo esse positum ; non enim Dominus dubitavit dicere, Hoc est corpus meum, cum signum daret corporis sui. (*Epist. cii. c. 12, § 3, ed. Bened. vol. viii. col. 124.*)

49. P. 167. *Sayth S. Augustin in an other place.* The passage is as follows :

Hæc enim sacramenta sunt, in quibus non quid sint sed quid ostendant semper attenditur, quoniam signa sunt rerum et aliud existentia, aliud significantia. (*contr. Maxim., lib. ii. c. 22, ed. Bened. vol. viii. col. 725.*)

50. P. 168. *Yet one place more.* The passage is as follows :

Accipiant hoc et boni, sed non sint solliciti ; loquebatur enim de præsentia corporis sui. Nam secundum majestatem suam, secundum providentiam, secundum ineffabilem et invisibilem gratiam, impletur quod ab eo dictum est, Ecce ego vobiscum sum usque in consummationem sæculi. Secundum carnem vero quam Verbum assumpsit, secundum id quod de Virgine natus est, secundum id quod a Judæis prehensus est, quod ligno confixus, quod de cruce depositus, quod linteis involutus, quod in sepulchro conditus, quod in resurrectione manifestatus, non semper habebitis vobiscum. Quare ? Quoniam conversatus est secundum corporis præsentiam quadraginta diebus cum discipulis suis, et, eis deducentibus videndo, non sequendo, ascendit in cælum, et non est hic. Ibi est enim et sedet ad dexteram Patris, et hic est : non enim recessit præsentia majestatis. Aliter, secundum præsentiam majestatis, semper habemus Christum : secundum præsentiam carnis, rectè dictum est discipulis, Me autem non semper habebitis. Habuit enim illum Ecclesia secundum præsentiam carnis paucis diebus ; modo fide tenet, oculis non videt. (*Tract. 50 in Johannem, c. 13, ed. Bened. vol. iii. part iii. col. 634.*)

Ridley had used this passage in his Determination (*Works, 176*).

51. P. 171. *Gelasius* the First (Bishop of Rome, 492—496). The passage is as follows :

Certe sacramenta quæ sumimus, corporis et sanguinis Christi, divina res est ; propter quod et per eadem divinæ efficimur consortes naturæ. Et tamen esse non desinit substantia vel natura panis et vini, et certe imago et similitudo corporis et sanguinis Christi in actione mysteriorum celebrantur. (*De Duabus Naturis, adv. Eutychen.* See de la Bigne, *Biblioth. Patrum*, ed. 1618, vol. v. part 3, 671.) Migne's editor (*Patr. Lat.*, vol. 59, col. 11), quoting Mansi, says that the work *de Duabus Naturis* in the *Biblioth. Patrum* is not by Gelasius ; his work was *grande et præclarum*, this is a mere *libellus*.

Ridley had used this passage in his Determination (*Works*, 174).

It is interesting to ask, had Ridley books of reference in prison? Or did he trust to his memory? It seems much more likely that he was allowed to have with him a book or books of extracts made in the course of his reading at Cambridge, Herne and elsewhere. Such collections were commonly made by the students at that time. In that great storehouse of MS. treasures, the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (Parker MSS., vol. cii., pp. 151, &c.), I have examined Cranmer's careful collection and arrangement of passages from the Fathers bearing on the Presence in the Eucharist. This collection was perhaps transcribed by an amanuensis under the Archbishop's direction, but summaries of the evidence afforded are written in his own hand. Ridley had no doubt compiled similar collections, and to these he probably refers when once and again he complains that his "books" were kept from him (*Works*, 165, 193). It would seem that he was at last allowed to have them again.

APPENDICES

THIS way which they call heresy is not new, but hath been trodden in long since by such as in their times were accounted good and catholic teachers in the Church.

USSHER.

Answer, ch. iii.

APPENDIX I

‘THE BOOK OF BERTRAM’

RIDLEY makes repeated reference to “Bertram” as a writer on Eucharistic doctrine. The earliest of such references, so far as I find, occurs in the Debate in the Lords,¹ December 1548 :

Roffensis (Ridley).

Also the question of Charles to Bertram: *Christus manducatur in Sacramento, licet totus sit in cælo.*

Cicestrens. (Day).

Bertram is printed of late at Geneva among the sectaries, and corrupted.²

In June 1549, in his Determination at Cambridge,³ he cites against Transubstantiation a catena

¹ See above, 14.

² *The Debate on the Lord's Supper*, ed. J. T. Tomlinson, 50. (See above, 184.)

³ See above, 15.

of Fathers, closing with a brief reference to "the judgment of Bertram in this matter," as "very clear and manifest."¹ Some time in 1553, or early 1554, during his imprisonment in the Tower, describing the theological conversation at the Lieutenant's table,² he reports at length a passage of discussion about "Bertram"³:

Thus when Master Fecknam had spoken at length, with many words more, "Sir," said I, "it is certain that others beside these⁴ have written of this; not by the way only and *obiter*, as do for the most of all the old writers, but even *ex professo*, and their whole books entreat of it alone, as Bertram."

"Bertram," said the Secretary,⁵ "what man was he? who was he, and how do ye know? &c.," with many questions.

"Sir," quoth I, "I have read his book. He propoundeth the same which is now in controversy, and answereth so directly that no man may doubt but that he affirmeth that the substance of bread remaineth still in the Sacrament; and he wrote unto Carolus Magnus."

"Marry," quoth he, "mark, for here is a matter. He wrote," quoth he, "*ad Henricum*, and not *ad Carolum*,"⁶ for no author maketh any such mention of Bertramus."

¹ *Works*, 175.

² See above, 30.

³ *Works*, 158.

⁴ *I. e.* beside "Berengarius, Wickliffe, and Hus, and now in our days Carolostadius and Ecolampadius," named by Fecknam.

⁵ Sir J. Bourne, Secretary to the Queen.

⁶ "That is, to Henry the Eighth; meaning to insinuate

"Yes," quoth I, "*Trithemius in catalogo illustrium Scriptorum*¹ speaketh of him. Trithemius was but of late time; but he speaketh," quoth I, "of them that were of antiquity." Here after much talk of Bertram, "What authors have ye," quoth Mr Secretary, "to make of the Sacrament a figure?"²

A few months later, in the Disputation at Oxford,³ in his elaborate argumentation on the second article of the trial, he again names Bertram last in his catena, and proceeds:⁴

Here, right worshipful Master Prolocutor and ye the rest of the commissioners, it may please you to understand that I do not lean to these things only which I have written in my former answers and confirmations, but that I have also, for the proof of that I have spoken, whatsoever Bertram, a man learned, of sound and upright judgment, and ever counted a catholic for these seven hundred years until this our age, hath written. This treatise whosoever shall read and weigh, considering the time of the writer, his learning, godliness of life, the allegations of the ancient fathers, and his manifold and most grounded arguments, I cannot (doubtless) but much marvel, if he have any fear of God at all, how he can, with good conscience, speak against him in this matter of

that this book of Bertram's, which bore too strongly against the Romish corruptions in the doctrine of the Eucharist to admit easily of any fair and direct answer, was a modern forgery of the Protestants of late time" (Wordsworth, *Eccl. Biogr.* iv. 17). See further below.

¹ See below, 206.

² *Works*, 159.

³ See above, 36.

⁴ *Works*, 206.

the Sacrament. This Bertram was the first that pulled me by the ear,¹ and that brought me from the common error of the Romish church, and caused me to search more diligently and exactly both the Scriptures and the writings of the old ecclesiastical Fathers in this matter. And this I protest before the face of God, who knoweth I lie not in the things I now speak.

One other reference is recorded. On the morning of the day before his martyrdom, at the house of Alderman Irish, he appealed to Brookes, Bishop of Gloucester, who had just done upon him the office of degradation, to give Bertram a hearing²:

They would have been gone, but Master Ridley said, "My lord, I would wish that your lordship would vouchsafe to read over and peruse a little book of Bertram's doings, concerning the Sacrament. I promise you, you shall find much good learning therein, if you will read the same with an indifferent judgment." Dr Brookes made no answer to this, but would have been gone away, &c.³

Of the book to which Ridley owed, in his own judgment, so great a debt I attempt a short account, indicating rather than fully stating what is known of its author, its occasion, its genuineness, its later

¹ In the Latin, *hic mihi primus aurem vulsit*. The English is Bradford's version of Ridley's Latin.

² See above, 64.

³ *Works*, 290.

literary history ; and giving in the next Appendix an abridgement of its contents.

§ 1. The name Bertram is undoubtedly a mistake, originated some time in the middle ages by a transcriber, and perpetuated by the literary historian Trithemius in the fifteenth century. The author of the tractate *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini* was Ratramnus; so the word is shewn in the only two known complete MSS. of the book, one of them dating probably from Ratramn's own time. Other spellings occur very early, Rotrannus, Ratrannus, Intramnus¹; but they appear to be accidental variations. Ratramn was born early in the ninth century, joined the Benedictine Order, and was a monk and priest at Corbie, in the diocese of Amiens, till he became abbot of Orbais, in that of Soissons. He was alive certainly in 870, when he is mentioned by Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims. His theological reputation was high. In the Predestinarian controversy he was consulted by Charles the Bald (King 840—875, Emperor 875—877), grandson of Charlemagne, and brother and successor of the Emperor Lothair. He wrote two books, still extant, *de Prædestinatione Dei*. Before

¹ See the editions of Hopkins (pp. 1, &c.) and of “H. W. & W. C. C.” (p. v) mentioned below (215, 219). Ussher spells the name Ratrannus (*de Eccles. successionē*, c. ii.).

this he had written *de Partu Virgineo*, in answer to some reported attempts in Germany to mysticize away the literal Birth of the Incarnate Lord. His latest important work was done at the request, ultimately, of Pope Nicolas I.¹ It was a reply to Greek attacks on the Roman Church (*contra opposita Græcorum Imperatorum Romanam Ecclesiam infamantium*), written about 869. It is noticeable that this was long after he had written on the Body and Blood of the Lord; no faintest taint of eucharistic heresy can have attached to him, in the opinion of the Pope and the French Bishops, on account of his authorship of that book.

§ 2. The occasion of the writing of his now famous tractate was, apparently, as follows. About 831² Paschasius Radbertus, or Rathbert, also a monk of Corbie, and soon afterwards abbot there, wrote a treatise on the Lord's Body and Blood in the Eucharist. It was dedicated to his old scholar Placidius, now abbot of New Corbie, in Westphalia. The style is avowedly simple and didactic; for the monks of New Corbie, its first intended readers, were as yet, so we gather from the Prologue, "untouched by the wave of liberal arts." But though the treatise is not controversial in form, dealing

¹ Hopkins, 19.

² Hopkins, 78, 79, gives good reasons for the date.

rather in the reiterated assertion of literalist exposition, and enforcing it by stories of miracle, it alludes to the wide prevalence (*plures sapiunt*) of opinions other than those which it affirms. Paschasius teaches that the change in the eucharistic elements wrought by consecration is to be understood as literally as is possible to "faith." The bread *is* the Body of the Lord in respect of its being, out and out, the identical Body of the Incarnation: *Licet figura panis et vini hic sit, omnino nihil aliud quam caro Christi et sanguis post consecrationem credenda sunt. . . . Et, ut mirabilius loquor, non alia plane [caro] quam quæ nata est de Maria, et passa in cruce, et resurrexit de sepulcro* (cap. I, § 2. Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, vol. 120, col. 1269). The book won a more public notice when Paschasius (so we learn from his Letter to the King) presented it, at the new year, to Charles the Bald, imploring (*prostratis precibus*) his attention and approbation with a view to its fuller acceptance.

Charles, who inherited his grandfather's interest in theology, read the book, and, if we may speak of almost certain inferences as facts, found in it a doctrine which to him was new and strange, and which demanded either submission or refutation. He turned to the best theological guides he knew

to examine the subject for him ; they were John Scotus Erigena, and Ratramnus.

This is conjecture, strictly speaking, for we have no direct information that Paschasius' tractate was the occasion of Charles' doing what he certainly did in inviting Erigena and Ratramnus to write. But the circumstances make it more than probable.

Ratramn's book does not name Paschasius, nor formally discuss his work. But it is throughout a refutation of Paschasius' thesis, almost in set terms ; for it aims all along to prove that the Lord's words are to be understood not *in veritate* but *in figura*, and that the Body of the Eucharist is not identically the Body of the Incarnation. It seems clear that it is written by a man who has Paschasius before him, though he will not say so. And it is not only addressed to Charles ; it is written at his express request, with a view to uniformity of belief among his subjects, a uniformity which now (apparently as a new thing) the King finds imperilled by strange teaching.

The book of Erigena has wholly perished ; it was burnt by papal order, at Vercelli, in 1059. Erigena was so much more the philosopher than the theologian that he may possibly have written with insufficient caution and reverence ; but what we possess

of his works indicates, in a fragment here and there, that on the whole he took Ratramn's line.¹

It is to be noticed in passing, that the prince who turned to Ratramn for his theology *was* Charles the Bald, and not Charlemagne. The confusion of names, which by Ridley's time had made Charlemagne Ratramn's reputed patron, seems to be due to the title in one of the two chief MSS. of the book :² *Incipit liber Ratramni . . . ad Carolum Magnum*. "Charles the Bald," says Mabillon in his report of the MS. (*Iter Germanicum*, in vol. iv. of his *Analecta*, quoted by the Oxford Editors), "was more than once called 'Great.' " The book itself does not give the name of the "glorious Prince" whom it addresses. But we need have no doubt. The known chronology of Ratramn's life makes Charlemagne impossible, and his grandson is the one King Charles in the field of view.

§ 3. The literary history of the book is curiously meagre till we come to the Reformation, when it was printed at Cologne, in 1531, by Johann Präl. Two medieval notices of it occur. One is by the

¹ See a convenient collection of these passages in Hebert's *History of Teaching*, &c., vol. i. 601—605. Dr Hebert's renderings have sometimes to be revised; but the original is invariably given below the translation. The literary remains of Scotus are printed in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, vol. 122.

² See below, 211.

Benedictine Sigebertus Gemblacensis (born in the north of France *cir.* 1030), *de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, c. 96: *Bertramus*¹ *scripsit librum de Corpore et Sanguine Domini, et ad Carolum librum de Prædestinatione*. The other is by the Benedictine Johannes Trithemius, *de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, a book completed in 1494, and first published at Basle. It is to this work that Ridley refers (above, 199). The passage is as follows: *Bertramus presbyter et monachus, in divinis Scripturis valde peritus, et in litteris sæcularium disciplinarum egregie doctus; ingenio subtilis et clarus eloquio; nec minus vita quam doctrina insignis; scripsit multa præclara opuscula, de quibus ad meam notitiam pauca pervenerunt. Ad Carolum Regem, fratrem Lotharii imperatoris, scripsit commendabile opus de Prædestinatione, lib. i.*² *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini, lib. i. Claruit temporibus Lotharii imperatoris, Anno Domini D.CCC.XXX.*

I may mention that in a copy of Trithemius in the Cambridge Library, printed at Frankfort³ in 1601, the state of the text seems to indicate that Trithemius regarded our tractate and that on

¹ The Oxford editors of Ratramn give *Ratramus* as the spelling in two MSS. of Sigebert.

² As a fact there are two books.

³ *Frankofurti, typis Wecheliani, apud Claudium Marnium.*

Predestination as in some sense one. The words are arranged and stopped thus :

. . . . *Scriptis commendabile opus.*
de prædestinatione, lib. i. de Corpore et Sanguine Domini,
lib. i.

One other mention may be classed with these two, though it falls within the Reformation time. John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, in his voluminous defence of Transubstantiation against Æcolampadius (1527),¹ names “Bertramus.” In the preface to the fourth book,² among many orthodox men famed for sacred and secular learning, he names *Paschasius abbas Corbeiensis, Bertramus, Strabus, Rabanus . . monachi* (ed. 1597, p. 991). It is curious to find Paschasius and “Bertramus” thus grouped together. I cannot but think that Fisher knew Ratramn only through Trithemius’ description. Had he read him, he could hardly have classed him, as he does, among those who *una voce contestantur in Eucharistia corporis et sanguinis veritatem*.

When Ratramn appeared at length in print, under Reforming auspices, (it was Æcolampadius who procured the printing, and a German translation

¹ See below, 254.

² Not in *præfatione ad libros*, as Fabricius says (quoted in Migne, vol. 121, col. 9).

was done by Leo Judæ,¹) he excited attention at once. The Reformers hailed an honoured ancient who not passingly but of set purpose, and as against an innovating error,² asserted that the holy Elements are, as indeed they are, the Lord's Body and Blood, but *in figura, non in veritate*. On the other hand, it was instantly suggested that the book was either a fabrication throughout,³ done by Æcolampadius, or that its original orthodoxy had been cleverly altered by the insertion of spurious passages, denying the *veritas* of the great change. As a matter of literary criticism, I should suppose that the book was then, as now, well able to vindicate itself. It is on the one hand closely coherent, and on the other hand its Latinity is widely different from the Ciceronianism favoured by the Latinists of the sixteenth century. But it had to wait some time for a complete vindication *ab extra*. This came at length from two directions.

In 1566 Abp Parker⁴ published, with a translation, a Saxon Homily, an instruction on the due reception of the Eucharist at Easter. It was written by Aelfric, abbot of Malmesbury and afterwards of

¹ See below, 258.

² If I do not mistake, Ratramn is the first writer in all Christian literature who treats the great subject precisely thus.

³ See above, 198; and below, 222.

⁴ Strype, *Parker*, i. 472.

St Alban's, who flourished about 960.¹ The Saxon was a version of a Latin sermon, possibly written by Aelfric ; but the Latin, suspected of heresy, (so it would seem,) had utterly perished in the middle ages, not improbably in the time of Lanfranc and Berengarius ; the Saxon survived, protected by its unintelligibility. The Homily is in itself extremely interesting² ; amongst other things for a curious inconsistency. It teaches the “figure,” not “verity,” of the eucharistic change. Yet it inserts two stories of miracle supposed to prove the crudest “verity” ; in one, a sceptical woman finds the wafer before her turned visibly into a *gory finger* ; a miracle, by the way, which would not square with the more refined scholastic theory. But the great interest of Aelfric's Homily is its relation to Ratramn. Abp Ussher, who combined vast reading with keen literary penetration, was apparently the first to detect that a large part of the Paschal Homily was nothing other than Ratramn in Saxon ; and

¹ Parker set it forth, on his own part and that of the Archbishop of York and thirteen Bishops, as “a Testimony of Antiquity shewing the ancient faith of the Church of England touching the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord.”

² It is printed in Saxon and English by Foxe (vol. v. pp. 180 &c.), though not entire, and in English by the Oxford Editors of Ratramn. See below, 219.

that the passages which corresponded were just those which were supposed by the Romanists in the sixteenth century to be the forgery of the Reformers.¹ On examination it appears that of the 102 sections of Ratramn's treatise quite 22 (7—9, 17—19, 23—25, 38, 71—78, 87, 88, 90, 95) have their parallels, in whole or part, in Aelfric.

In Hopkins' edition of Ratramn (pp. 40—51) a careful collection of the chief cases appears. Three specimens may be given here.

(1) Ratramn, § 9: *At ille panis qui per sacerdotis ministerium Christi corpus efficitur aliud exterius humanis sensibus ostendit, aliud interius fidelium mentibus clamat.*

Aelfric: Truly the bread and wine which through the inass of the priest is hallowed sheweth one thing outwardly to human senses, and another thing they inwardly call to believing minds.

(2) Ratramn, § 88: *Hoc corpus pignus est et species, illud veritas. Hoc enim geritur donec ad illud pervenitur; ubi vero ad illud perventum fuerit hoc removebitur.*

Aelfric: This mystery is a pledge and a figure, that Body is the truth itself. This pledge we keep mystically until we come to the truth itself; then is that pledge ended.

(3) Ratramn, § 25: *Ipse qui nunc in ecclesia panem et vinum omnipotenti virtute in sui corporis carnem et*

¹ See Ussher, *Answer to a Jesuit*, cc. 1, 3. And compare his passage *de Ecclesiarum successione*, cap. ii. § 17, &c.

proprii cruoris undam spiritualiter convertit, Ipse tunc quoque manna de cœlo datum corpus suum et aquam de petra profusam proprium sanguinem invisibiliter operatus est.

Aelfric : Though He had not suffered as yet, He turned through invisible might that bread to His own Body and that wine to His own Blood, as formerly He did in the wilderness, before that He was born to Man, when He turned that heavenly meat to His own Flesh and that water flowing from the rock to His own Blood.

The other direction from which vindication came to the genuineness of the printed text of Ratramn was the inspection of two MSS.¹ of the work, late in the seventeenth century, by the learned Benedictine, Jean Mabillon (1632—1707). In the Benedictine abbey of Laubez, or Lobez, in Belgium, he found one, mentioned in a catalogue which itself bore the date A.D. 1049 ; in Mabillon's opinion the MS. was written before A.D. 900.² And in the Cistercian abbey of Salem Weiler (*cœnobium Salemense*) he found another, which he thought to be of the tenth century. It bore the title *liber Ratramni de perceptione Corporis et Sanguinis Domini, ad Carolum Magnum*.³

¹ The MS. from which the Cologne edition was printed is not known.

² *Acta Sanctorum Ord. Ben., sec. iv., pars 2, p. 45* : quoted by Hopkins, 60.

³ *Iter Germanicum, in Vetera Analecta, tom. iv.* : quoted by Hopkins, 61.

As regards the integrity of the text, Mabillon says of the Lobez copy that he finds no discrepancy with the text printed in the sixteenth century, save that the printed text in § 99 reads *iste panis . . . corpus Christi . . . nominatur*, and the MS. reads *nominatur et existit*; ¹ and he will not say that the Protestants have omitted it fraudulently.

To retrace our steps a little; the book, when published by the Reformers, was not only criticized and defamed by their opponents. It was placed on the Index by Pope Paul IV. (Caraffa), 1559. Even so however there was a division of opinion among the Romanists. Not all thought the work a forgery. Some, as Card. Bellarmine, blamed "Bertram" as an unorthodox teacher, "who first brought into doubt the truth," and was *answered by Paschasius*; a complete mistake as to the facts.²

¹ Hopkins (p. 256) remarks, as he inserts the missing word, *Nec quicquam tamen juvat Pontificiorum causam hæc additio; agnoscunt enim Reformati panem . . . corpus . . . existere spiritualiter.*

In the Oxford edition of the Latin a collation of editions is given at the foot of the pages. It may be hoped that the text may yet be edited from the MSS. A third but imperfect MS. (in *bibliotheca S. Albini Andegavenis*) is mentioned by the Oxford Editors, on the authority of Montfaucon, in *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum*, tom. ii. 1227.

² Ussher (*Answer*, c. i.) quotes Turrianus, *de Eucharist.*, p. 134, as saying, *Bertramum citare, quid aliud est quam dicere hæresim Calvinii non esse novam?*

In an Index for Belgium (Strasburg, 1609) appears a curious judgment by the Divines of Douay, adopted by the editors of the Index; I borrow the Oxford Editors' version of the Latin:¹ "Although we care not greatly for this work of Bertram's, whether it be extant or no, yet because it is often printed, and read of many, and the heretics know by a catalogue of forbidden books that he was a Catholic priest, and dear unto Charles the Great, and because we comment upon other writers of the same age, and extenuate their errors oftentimes by a favourable construction of them,² by the same reason we may allow Bertram and acknowledge him; for there is nothing worthy of reprehension in him, setting aside a little obscurity in his style, and his ignorance in using some dark words and sentences, which with marginal notes affixed may manifest the true sense and meaning of the author." "Of this principle," the Oxford Editors proceed, "we find such instances as these; 'invisible' is substituted for 'visible,' and 'substance' explained by 'accidents.'"

¹ The Latin is given, with much other curious matter, in the *Introduction* to the late Dr Gibbings' *Exact Reprint of the Roman Index Expurgatorius* (Dublin, 1837), pp. xlv, &c.

² *Errorēs . . . extenuamus, excusamus, excogitato commento persæpe negamus, et commodum iis sensum affingimus, &c.* En papistarum fidem, exclaims Ussher (*Collected Works*, ii. 53. Cp. *Answer*, ch. i.).

The Jansenists, as might be expected, hailed Ratramn as a welcome witness for the Augustinian doctrine of predestination, but found his eucharistic teaching unworthy and misleading.¹

When Mabillon had set finally at rest the question of genuineness and integrity, a serious attempt was made, by a French Divine, to reclaim Ratramn, so to speak, for Roman Catholic orthodoxy.² Jacques Boileau, Doctor of the Sorbonne and Dean of Sens, published in 1686 an edition of the treatise, with a French translation and an elaborate apparatus on the doctrine of the book. The title was : *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini Liber, expressus ex apographo cum cura et fide exscripto ex codice MS. DCCC annorum, Abbatiae Lobiensis. Cum versione Gallica, præfatione et notis Jacobi Boilavii, Theologi Parisiensis. Parisiis. 1686.*³

Boileau's methods of doctrinal vindication are sometimes violent. Hopkins collects a large number of cases in which his translation merely perverts the original. As for example :

(1) Ratramn, § 56 : *Intellige quod non in specie sed in virtute corpus et sanguis Christi existant, quæ cernuntur.*

¹ So Ant. Arnauld, "*le Grand*"; *Œuvres*, xviii. 483, xii. 98.

² In reply to the Jesuit Hardouin, who had found Bertram heretical.

³ Migne (vol. 121) prints Boileau's Dissertations.

Boileau : Les choses qui y tombent sous le sens, ne sont pas le Corps et le Sang de J.-C. dans leur espèce *ou apparence visible*, mais qu’ils y sont par la vertu (du Verbe).

(2) Ratramn, § 12: *Hic vero panis et vinum prius fuere quam transitum in sacramentum Corporis et Sanguinis Christi fecerunt.*

Boileau : Avant qu’ils passassent au Corps et au Sang de J.-C.

Boileau’s work called out (in an amplified form, after a smaller first edition,) the book to which I have made frequent reference by anticipation as “Hopkins”; by far the most important English edition of Ratramn with which I am acquainted. It is entitled: *Bertram or Ratram concerning the Body and Blood of the LORD, in Latin, with a new English Translation, to which is prefixed a historical Dissertation concerning the Author and this Work. The second Edition corrected, and enlarged with an Appendix: wherein Monsicur Boileau’s French Version, and Notes upon Bertram, are considered, and his unfair dealings in both detected.* London. 1688. The book, an octavo, contains pp. 508 ; the Appendix occupies pp. 233. The author does not give his name, unless it lies in a curious cypher in the Dedication (to the Right Hon. H. Coventry). But Wood (*Athenæ Ox.*, iv. col. 680, ed. Bliss, 1820) lets us know that he was

William Hopkins, D.D., Prebendary of Worcester, born 1647; chaplain to Coventry, English Ambassador in "Sweedland," and "esteemed an excellent divine, well read and critical in English histories and antiquities." The book (apart from the Appendix, and from the Version of Ratramn) consists of six chapters, full of laborious and accurate work: (1) *An Historical Account of the Author and his Writings*; (2) *Of his Treatise concerning Christ's Body and Blood, and the Author cleared of Heresie, and the other accusations of Father Cellot*; (3) *That this Book is neither wholly forged, nor yet depraved, that Ratramnus is its true Author, and not John Scotus Erigena*; (4) *Of the true Sense of the Author in some controverted Expressions*; (5) *That this Treatise expressly confutes the Doctrin of Transubstantiation, and is very agreeable to the Doctrin of the Church of England*; (6) *That Ratramnus was not singular in his opinion, but had several great Men in his own and the following Age of the same judgment with him in this point.*

The names dealt with in this last chapter are Charlemagne (in the Epistle to Alcuin), Amalarius Fortunatus, Erigena, Florus of Lyons, Walafridus Strabo (a weighty name) and Rabanus Maurus.¹

¹ His expression of opinion is distinct, and evidently

Hopkins' ch. iv. is useful and interesting. He discusses Ratramn's use of *Figura* and *Veritas*; *Manifestatio*; *Species* (which he uses not in the scholastic sense, but very much as a synonym with *Natura*); *Visibilis* (which is used without any hint that our senses are not to be trusted, so that what we *see* as bread can *be* all the while literally Body; to Ratramn *visibilis* means, practically, what stands the test of sense); *Verbum* (in the sense not of the words of consecration but of the Eternal Word, the Logos); and lastly, *Corpus Spirituale*, on which he has some important remarks (p. 72): "By a spiritual body we are not to understand the natural Body of Christ, but existing after the manner of a Spirit, or, as our adversaries love to speak, not according to its proper existence, that is to say, it is Christ's natural Body, but neither visible nor local, nor extended; this is not Bertram's sense of Christ's spiritual Body, but that the thing so-called is figuratively and mystically

directed against Paschasius: *Quidam nuper de ipso Sacramento Corporis et Sanguinis Domini non rite sentientes dixerunt hoc ipsum Corpus et Sanguinem Domini quod de Maria Virgine natum est, et in quo ipse Dominus passus est in Cruce, et resurrexit de Sepulcro idem esse quod sumitur in altari* (in *Epistola edita per Baluzium*, quoted by Hopkins, 116 n.). The last six words of the Latin were found by Mabillon erased from one MS. of the letter.

Christ's Body, and that it spiritually communicates to the faithful Christ with all the benefits of His Death."

I do not know the after-history of Hopkins' book.¹ It is mentioned with high praise² by Fabricius, quoted, with great liberality, by Migne's (Roman Catholic) editor (*Patrol. Lat.*, vol. 121, col. 10).

Hopkins gives a list of editions of Ratramn up to his own time. They are as follows—

1. At Cologne, 1532, 8vo.;³ perhaps with Abp Hermann's approval.

2. Geneva, 1541, 8vo. (A copy is in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge; with it are published Augustine's Epistle to Dardanus, and an extract from a homily of Augustine's.)

3. In the *Micropresbyticon*, fol., Basle, 1550.

4. Cologne, 1551, 8vo. (with other works).

5. Geneva, 1557, 8vo. (with other works).

6. Leyden, 1579, 8vo. (in the *Opuscula* of Feuguereus).

7. Geneva, 1608, fol. (in *Catalogo testium Veritatis*).

8. By Lornierus; with notes. "Prohibited newly by the French clergy."

9. Two editions in French and Latin, the last in 1672.

¹ Except that it was published (without the Appendix on Boileau), in French, at Amsterdam. See the next page.

² As the work *clarissimi Gul. Hopkinsii*.

³ This was at once translated into German, by Leo Judæ. See below, 258.

10. By "Dr Boileau, Dean of Sens," Paris, 1686, 8vo.

11. In English, 1549. The "translation was made either by Bishop Ridley, or his advice, and is accurate enough, but the language obsolete." ¹

12. Aberdeen, 1622. 8vo.

13. By Sir H. Lynd, 1623.

14. The same, "newly reprinted."

To these must be added—

15. Hopkins' work translated into French, Amsterdam, 1717 (mentioned by Fabricius, in *Migne Patr. Lat.*, vol. 121, col. 10). The printer explains that the Appendix is not translated, as too extensive for republication.

16. *The Book of Ratramn, the priest and monk of Corbey, commonly called Bertram, concerning the Body and Blood of the Lord. To which is added an Appendix, containing the Saxon Homily of Ælfric* [translated]. Oxford, J. H. Parker; J. G. & F. Rivington, London. 1838. 12mo.

¹ The Rev. C. H. R. Harper tells me that there are two copies in the Bodleian Library, 1548, 1549, "from the same press, and almost identical. The title-page of the first is as follows: *The boke of Barthram priest, intreatynge of the Bodye and Bloude of Christe, wrytten to greate Charles the Emperoure, and set forth viic. yeares a goo, and imprinted An Dm̄, M.D.XLVIII. T. R.* (*i. e.* Thomas Raynolde, a printer in the parish of St Andrew's in the Wardrobe, London). On the back of the title-page is printed *The lyfe of Bartram preist, by Johannes Thrythemys*, followed by the pertinent remark, 'A man shall not percyeve the mynde of the auctor excepte he rede the boke through and conferre the fyrst part with the latter.'" The P. S. editor of Ridley names *William Hugh* as the translator of the book in 1548. (*Works*, 159.)

The edition is anonymous; the excellent preface is signed "H. W., W. C. C." The Latin of Ratramn is not printed.

17. *Ratramni, presbyteri et monachi Corbeiensis, qui vulgo Bertramus nuncupatur, Liber de Corpore et Sanguine Domini. Oxonii. 1838. 12mo.* The publishers and the Editors are the same as in the last case. A short *Prefatio* gives a list of editions, an account of MSS. from Montfaucon and Mabillon, and the *testimonia de Ratramno* of Sigebert, Trithemius and Fabricius.

I have referred often above to these last two editions as "the Oxford Editors."

18. *The Book of Bertram, Monk of Corbie, A.D. 840, on the Body and Blood of the Lord. . . . Done into English from the Original Latin with Notes and brief Introduction by W. F. Taylor, D.D., Vicar of St. Chrysostom's, Everton [now Archdeacon of Warrington]. From the edition of 1673, Rouen, Jean Lucas.¹ London, Simpkin, Marshall & Co. Liverpool, E. Howell, Church Street. 1880. 12mo.* An excellent pocket edition.

I close this imperfect account of a remarkable book with an extract from Cave's *Historia Literaria*,² borrowing the rendering of Cave's vigorous and characteristic Latin given by the Oxford Editors of Ratramn (English Edition, p. vi):

All who have taken their first lessons in Theology know how plainly, how learnedly he treateth the subject

¹ Is this one of those numbered by Hopkins "9"?

² Ed. 1688, p. 530.

of the Eucharist in his book concerning the Body and Blood of Christ, and how clearly he rejecteth the dogma of Transubstantiation as it is explained in the Romish Schools. Wherefore the Papists from their desire to banish this tract to Anticyra,¹ or rather to Orcus itself (for it has been stamped with the black mark of condemnation by the Censors of Trent, and Louvain, by Sixtus Senensis, Bellarmine, Genebrard, Possevin, Gregory of Valentia, Gretzer, etc.), have attacked it with every instrument of hostility. Some endeavour to diminish the Author's reputation; others calumniate him as a heretic desirous of change, as a monk kicking against his superiors. The staid manners of the man, and his fame untouched through so many ages, clearly refute this. Others loudly exclaim, that his work is corrupt and interpolated. Against this, the faith of so many ancient manuscripts must be taken, and that of the Easter Homily by our own Ælfric, who flourished in the year 960, which is borrowed almost word for word from the tract of Ratramn. Lastly, others would prove that John Erigena, and not Ratramn, is its author. What then? As if John Scotus were not his equal, both in age and learning. But in truth, the candid confession of John Mabillon easily convicteth this party; for he confesseth, that he found the name of Ratramn at the beginning of an ancient manuscript 800 years old, in the monastery of Lobez. Indeed, Antony Sanders made mention of this manuscript long before in his Catalogue of the Belgian Libraries, part I., p. 303. And in very truth, men, in other respects grave and learned, work

¹ To get its insanity cured. (Hor., *Sat.* ii. 3. 166.)

wondrous hard at trifles, when they undertake to prove that Ratramn in this Tract favours the doctrine of the Romish Church, or, at least, does not oppose it; from which nevertheless it is as far distant as the East is from the West. What can they produce worthy of so huge a promise? Let these new champions of Transubstantiation, as far as I am concerned, go on with it; let them transform Ratramn into Paschasius himself, for I would as soon believe them to be one and the same person, as that Ratramn held on this point the same doctrine with Paschasius and the Romish Church of the present day.

It is somewhat amusing to place beside this extract Gardiner's last *Objicitur*, or rather the *Respondet Catholicus* which annihilates it. Gardiner and Cave agree cordially in the one point of the difference between Ratramn's doctrine and that of the Tridentine age.

Objicitur 255.

Objicitur ex Bertramo. In libello illo de Corpore et Sanguine Domini, ait de symbolorum naturis, quod secundum creaturarum substantiam, quod fuerunt ante consecrationem, hoc et postea consistunt.

Respondet Catholicus.

Bertramus, sive quis alius fuerit author ejus operis qui sub illius nomine fertur, callidus fuit et impudens hæreticus.

APPENDIX II

AN ABRIDGED RENDERING OF 'BERTRAM'

AN abridgement of Ratramn's tractate is here offered. The sections are those adopted in Hopkins' and some other editions. I have done my best to give impartial expression to the whole of the writer's thought. His exegesis of Scripture is given of course as it stands.

1. Your Majesty bids me express my opinion concerning the mystery of the Lord's Body and Blood; anxious, as a Christian sovereign, that your subjects should not think diversely on so capital a point.

2. For some of the faithful say that the mystery of the Body and Blood of Christ, daily celebrated in the Church, is done without figure or veil, and with open display of the verity itself; while others hold that these things are contained under sacramental figure; and that bodily sense sees one thing, but faith another. Here is a grave difference, where all should "speak the same thing" (1 Cor. i. 10).

3. Hence your royal anxiety for a statement of the hidden truth of the matter; and your condescension, to ask one so lowly as myself.

4. I obey; but where the theme is so far removed from bodily sense I can do so only under the teaching of the Holy Spirit. I humbly rely on Him of whom I am to speak, and seek to follow not my own mind but the footsteps of the Fathers.

5. As to the Body and Blood of Christ, received in the Church by the mouth of the faithful, you ask (1) Is it His Body in mystery or in verity (*in veritate*)? That is to say, does it contain a secret something, seen only by faith, or, all mystery apart, does the sense see outwardly what the mind sees inwardly, so that the ordinance shines with the light of manifestation? (2) Is the Body the same Body which was born of the Virgin, which suffered, rose, and is now enthroned?

6. We take the first question first, and we begin by defining "figure" and "verity."¹

7. "Figure" is as it were a shadow, signifying somewhat under a veil; as when we call the Word² "Bread"; or when the Lord calls Himself "the Vine."

8. "Verity" is a shewing of a thing unveiled (*rei manifestæ demonstratio*), in the terms of nature; as, "Christ was born of a Virgin, died, was buried." Here meaning exactly coincides with expression; not so in the other class of phrase. Substantially, Christ is neither bread, nor a vine.

9. Now to our theme, the Body and Blood of Christ. If this mystery admits no figure, it is not rightly called a

¹ By *veritas* he evidently means what is unfigurative and literal. Ratramnus undoubtedly holds, in a sense large and also deep, that the holy Bread is "verily" the Lord's Body to the true receiver. See *e.g.* § 101.

² Evidently here the *Λόγος*, the Christ.

mystery. But the bread which by the priest's ministry is made Christ's Body shews one thing outwardly to our senses, and speaks aloud (*clamat*) another inwardly to the minds of the faithful. Outwardly it is, as before, bread : shape, colour, taste remain. But inwardly it suggests a far other and better thing, heavenly and divine ; it exhibits Christ's Body, which is received not by physical sense but by the gaze (*contuitu*) of the faithful soul.

10. So the wine, which is made by consecration the sacrament of Christ's Blood, shews one thing outwardly, but contains another inwardly. Outwardly, there is just the substance of wine ; all the senses prove this. Not so inwardly : to the minds of the faithful it is Christ's Blood ; so tasted, beheld and smelled it proves itself such. This is undeniable ; it is in figure (*figuratè*) that the bread and the wine are the Body and the Blood. Our senses say that neither flesh nor blood is there ; yet after consecration we no longer say "bread and wine" but "Christ's Body and Blood."

11. If, as some hold, nothing here is in figure, all in verity, then faith does nothing, for then nothing spiritual is done. But faith is "the evidence of things not seen" ; so faith would have no function here. And it is absurd to take bread for flesh, and wine for blood ; nor is that a mystery where nothing is secret.

12. Now how can things in which no change is seen to have taken place be said to be the Lord's Body and Blood ? Change is either from what is not into what is, or from what is into what is not, or from what is into what is. But here, if the Sacrament is only viewed in simple verity (*in veritatis simplicitate*), and we believe nothing beyond sight, no change is recognizable. It has not

passed from what was not to what is ; as when things begin to be. For the bread and wine *were* before they were made the Sacrament of the Lord's Body and Blood. And it has not passed from what was to what is not ; as where there is destruction by defect.

13. Is it then the change from what is to what is ; as in things changed in quality, as when black is changed to white? No ; our senses answer no.¹ So if nothing else is changed, the bread and wine are but what they were before. Yet they *are* something other, for the bread has become the Body and the wine the Blood of Christ. The Lord's own words of institution prove this.

14. Let those then who will have no figure here but only simple verity say how the change has come? For as to the kind (*species*²) of the elements and the form of things visible, the bread and wine are unchanged.

15. Your Majesty sees the strange position of these teachers. They deny what they are held to say, and destroy what they believe. They confess, as faithful Christians, that the elements are the Body and the Blood ; and therefore, doubtless, that they have been changed. But then, *how* [on their theory]? Nothing has been changed bodily. They must own then that they are changed in some sense other than bodily (*secundum corpus*), and so into something other than what in verity they seem to be, other than what in their proper nature they are. Otherwise, these teachers must deny that they are the Body and Blood ; a thought which it is a sin to think.

¹ He accepts the senses as veracious. Rathbert almost makes it a merit to give them the lie.

² See above, 217.

16. But if they own that the elements are the Body and Blood, (a change, necessarily, into the better;) and as this change cannot [as we have seen] be bodily but spiritual; it must be a change in figure; under the veil of bodily bread and wine are now the spiritual Body and Blood of Christ. Not that we have two different substances [before us], body and spirit; but one thing in two respects: it is still bread and wine in one respect, it is the Body and the Blood in another. For the elements, bodily, are bodily creatures; but in power and effect they are made spiritually the Body and the Blood.

17. Consider the water of Baptism. It is called the fount of life, for it renews to a better life those who enter it, and for the death of sin gives them the life of righteousness. Has it this power as being what it is visibly, mere water? No: yet without consecration (*sancification*) it could not wash away sin; without a living force (*vigorem vitæ*) in it it could nowise give to the dead life, life of the soul. Yet in Baptism sense finds only a perishable element, able to wash the body. By consecration the grace of the Holy Spirit is added to it, and it avails to wash the soul.¹

18. Here in one element co-exist two opposites; a thing corruptible gives incorruption. Therefore in this fountain, along with what sense finds, there is also what faith only discerns. The water is, in its own nature, a perishable fluid; in mystery, it is a healing power.

¹ In Ridley's time some would have met this by saying that the Eucharist was a mystery greater in kind than Baptism, conveying a greater thing than grace. In the House of Lords Day blamed Ridley for thinking that consecration adds to the Bread and Wine nothing "but the grace of God, as in all other Sacraments" (Tomlinson, 50).

19. [So in the case before us], the Body and the Blood, outwardly viewed, are perishable creatures; but viewed as to the power of the mystery, that power is life, giving immortality to the partakers. So the things seen and the things believed differ. The one are the perishable food of the perishable body; the other are the immortal food of the immortal soul.

20. Look at St Paul's words (1 Cor. x.), about our fathers under the cloud, and passing through the sea, and so baptized to Moses; and drinking the same spiritual meat and drink [which we eat and drink¹]; for they drank of the spiritual Rock that followed them, and that Rock was Christ. Here we see that the sea and cloud represented Baptism, in the case of the old fathers. Now could the sea, as an element, could the cloud, as thickened air, have baptismal power? Yet the Apostle is witness that Israel *was* thus baptized.

21. No sane man will deny then that this baptism was true Baptism, though in a form other than the present. So then, sea and cloud imparted sanctification, not according to their bodily being, but as invisibly containing the grace of the Spirit.

22. So too with the manna, and with the water from the rock. They were bodily things, and nourished bodies; yet the Apostle calls them "spiritual meat," "spiritual drink." And, as they foreshadowed the mystery of the Body and Blood celebrated by the Church, he says that they were "the same" as our spiritual food.

23. Do you ask, "*how* the same"? I reply, that it *must* be the same. We cannot understand different things to

¹ So he evidently explains "*the same*."

be meant here. For it is the same Christ who in the desert fed the people with His own flesh, baptized them in cloud and sea, and gave them drink with His own Blood, and who in the Church now feeds believers with His own Body and Blood.

24. This the Apostle intimates in the words above recited. Christ was in the spiritual Rock, and poured thence His Blood to the people; the same Christ who in due time offered His own Body on the Cross, and shed from it His own Blood, by which not only are we redeemed, but of which we drink.

25. It is indeed wonderful. He had not yet taken manhood, nor yet had died for us. Nevertheless our fathers in the desert, by the same spiritual meat and the same spiritual invisible drink, ate His Body and drank His Blood. Faith must own the fact, however mysterious. He who now spiritually converts bread and wine into His own Body and Blood then invisibly made the manna His Body and the water His Blood.¹

26. Yet David in the Spirit testified beforehand that "Man ate angels' bread." Not that the bodily manna fed the heavenly host; but that in the manna, as now in the mystery of the Body, Christ is meant, who feeds alike angels and the faithful not with bodily food but with the power of the divine Word.

27. Again, the Gospel tells us that *before* the Lord suffered He called the bread His Body and the wine His Blood. *Before* He suffered He celebrated the mystery of His Body and Blood.

28. For surely every faithful Christian holds that that

¹ The great importance of this section as explaining the writer's main thought is obvious.

bread, on the Paschal night, was made the Lord's Body, and that that cup contained His Blood. Thus, before He suffered, He could turn the substance of bread and wine into His Body which was about to suffer and His Blood which was about to be shed ; and even so in the desert He could turn the manna and the water into His own Flesh and Blood, so long before His Passion.

29. Further, we have those words : " Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood ye shall have no life in you." He does not mean that His crucified Flesh shall be cut up into pieces and eaten, or that His Blood about to be shed for our redemption should be given to us to drink. It would be a sin (*scelus*) if in the sense of the unbelieving hearers [at Capernaum] *such* eating and drinking should take place.

30. Therefore, to His disciples, He adds presently ; " Does this stumble you ? If therefore you shall see the Son of Man ascend up where He was before ?" As if to say ; " Think not my Flesh or my Blood shall be eaten or drunken by you piecemeal, for you shall yet see me ascending entire to the heavens. Then you shall understand that my Flesh is to be eaten by the faithful not *so* ; but in truth (*vere*), in a mystery, the bread and wine being turned into the substance of my Body and my Blood."

31. Thus " it is the Spirit that quickeneth ; the flesh profiteth nothing." It is not an eating of material flesh ; in the mystery of the Body and Blood there is a spiritual life-giving operation, without which the mysteries avail not ; they would otherwise only feed the body.

32. Here rises the question often now put, whether these things are not done in verity, and not only in

figure. Against those who advocate such verity I adduce the Fathers.

33. Augustine, *de Doctr. Christ.*, lib. iii. (c. 16), writes thus on the words, "*Except ye shall eat the flesh, &c.*" :— "He seems to enjoin a crime and outrage (*facinus et flagitium*) ; therefore it is a figure, commanding us to communicate in the Lord's Passion, sweetly and profitably laying up in memory that His flesh was crucified and wounded for us."

34. So Augustine witnesses for the figure. He holds that to take the Flesh and Blood in a material sense (*carnaliter*) would be a sin.

35. Again, writing to Boniface : "When Easter is coming we say 'to-day, or to-morrow, is the Lord's Passion'—so long after His one suffering. Is this falsehood ? No, because we give to the memorial day the name of the proper day, on account of the likeness. A thing may be said to be done to-day which was done long ago, because its Sacrament is celebrated. Christ was once offered in His proper nature. Yet in Sacrament He is daily immolated for the people. And the phrase is not false ; for if the Sacraments had not a likeness to their Things they would not be Sacraments at all. And from this likeness they commonly receive the names of those very Things. So, as in a sense the Sacrament of the Body of Christ is the Body of Christ, and the Sacrament of the Blood of Christ is His Blood, so the Sacrament of faith [Baptism] is faith."

36. Here he says that the Sacraments are one thing, the Things another. Now the Body and the Blood of the Passion are the Things here ; but the mysteries of these Things are the Sacraments of that Body and Blood, celebrated in memory of the Lord's Passion.

37. And though the Lord's crucified Body is one, and His shed Blood one, yet their Sacraments take their names, because of the Things they signify; as the days which commemorate the Passion and the Resurrection are called the Passion and Resurrection.

38. In just the sense in which we thus denominate memorial days, can we say that Christ is sacrificed when the Sacrament of His Passion is celebrated, though He suffered once only. So the Apostle (1 Pet. ii. 21); "Christ suffered for you, leaving you an example to follow His steps." He cannot daily suffer, but He left an example, exhibited daily to the faithful in the mystery of His Body and Blood, to warn the worshipper to be conformed to the sufferings whose Sacrament he looks for [in the Eucharist]. As Solomon says (Prov. xxiii. 1); "Thou hast approached the table of the mighty one; consider diligently what is set before thee; knowing that thou thyself must prepare like things."¹ To "approach" that Table is to share the divine libation; to "consider" is to apprehend the Body and the Blood. Let us "prepare like things," that we may imitate Him whose Death we confess, not only by believing but by feeding on it.

39. St Paul to the Hebrews writes [vii. 26, 27]; "Such a High Priest became us . . . who has no need, like the High Priest, to offer sacrifices daily . . . for this He did once, when He offered up Himself." What He once did He daily repeats. Once He offered Himself; yet this offering is daily celebrated, but in a

¹ The last clause of the quotation is not in the Hebrew or in the Vulgate. The LXX. has it, and it is quoted by Ambrose and Augustine.

mystery. What He once did is, for the memory of His Passion, daily done in the mysteries.

40. And to say that in them the Lord is sacrificed and suffers is not false; for they have a likeness to His Passion, of which they are the representation. Thus are they called His Body and Blood, because the Sacraments borrow their names from the Things. So St Isidore, in his Etymologies [*Orig.*, vi. 19], thus says; "It is called a sacrifice of a sacred thing; for by mystical prayer it is hallowed for a memorial of His Passion. So, obeying His word, we call this His Body and Blood, because though made of the fruit of the earth, it is hallowed and becomes a Sacrament by the unseen working of the Spirit of God. This Sacrament of bread and wine the Greeks call Eucharistia (εὐχαριστία), which the Latins render *bona gratia* (good grace). And what is more 'good' than the Lord's Body and Blood? [For the bread and wine are compared to them, because as the visible substance of the bread and wine nourishes and cheers the outward man, so the Divine Word who is the Living Bread refreshes the soul of the faithful by partaking.]"¹

41. He thus teaches that the mystery of the Passion is to be celebrated in memory of the Passion; the Passion was once, but its memorial is represented in the Ordinances.

42. So too, though the bread is, when consecrated, taken up into (*assumptus*)² the Lord's Body, and the

¹ The original of the sentences abridged within brackets [] is not in the extant copies of Isidore.

² In view of the context of Ratramn's whole argument, I do not think that he means by this word to suggest any quasi-

wine is made in His Blood, yet this is not done visibly but, says Isidore, by the unseen working of the Holy Spirit.

43. Hence also they are called the Body and the Blood because they are regarded not as what they appear outwardly but as what they are made inwardly by that working. And because by unseen power they are something other than what they appear, Isidore makes a distinction [in the words quoted above, § 40]; comparing the bread and wine to the Body and Blood of Christ.

44. As quoted above, he plainly owns that in the Sacrament of the Body and Blood something outwardly is taken which refreshes the body, while the Divine Word, invisibly existing in the Sacrament, feeds invisibly the souls of the faithful, in their partaking of it.

45. So too Isidore says; "We say, there is a Sacrament in any rite, when a thing is so performed that it is taken to signify something which must be taken in a religious sense." So every Sacrament contains something secret; it is one thing to the eye, another to the spiritual understanding.

46. What the Christian Sacraments are he goes on to shew; "The Sacraments are Baptism, Anointing, and the Body and Blood¹; which are so called because under the veil of bodily things divine power secretly effects the salvation related to them; whence too they are called Sacraments from their secret or sacred² work-

physical "augmentation" of the Lord's true Body by the Eucharist.

¹ The Oxford Editors compare Bingham, *Antiqu.* xii. i. § 4, on this division of the Sacraments each into two.

² Does he mean to find an etymological kinship between *secretum* and *sacrum*?

ings. And again; "The Greeks call that a *μυστήριον* which has a secret and hidden working."

47. All this teaches that the Lord's Body and Blood are called mysteries because they have a secret working; that is, what they signify outwardly is one thing, what they inwardly and invisibly do is another.

48. They are called Sacraments again, because under the veil of bodily things divine power secretly gives salvation to those who faithfully receive them.

49. We have now demonstrated that the Body and Blood of Christ received in the Church by the mouths of Christians are figures as to their visible nature (*speciem visibilem*), but truly (*vere*) Christ's Body and Blood as to unseen substance, that is, the power of the Divine Word. So as visible creatures they feed the body; but as to the working of a mightier substance they feed and sanctify our souls.

50. Now comes our second question. Is the very Body of the Nativity, Passion and Ascension now daily received by our mouths in the mystery of the Sacraments?

51. What says St Ambrose, in his first book [viii. § 47] *On Sacraments*? "It is wonderful that God rained manna on our fathers, and that they were daily fed with the bread of heaven . . Yet they . . all died in the desert. But this Food which you take, this living Bread which comes down from heaven, ministers the substance of eternal life, and whoever eats of it shall never die; and it is Christ's Body."

52. See in what sense Ambrose says that our food in the Church is Christ's Body. He says that this living

bread, which came from heaven, ministers the substance of eternal life. Does what we see, and take, and bite, and swallow, do this? No; it only feeds the body; and they die who take only it. So in that bread there must be a life which faith sees, not the senses.

53. Later again, speaking of Christ's omnipotence, Ambrose says: "Cannot this word (*sermo*), which can make from nothing what was not, change these things that were into what they were not?"

54. He says that in the mystery of the Body and Blood there is a change, divine, incomprehensible. Let our opponents tell us, *how*. As regards the substance of the creature the elements still are what they were before. So there is something changed inwardly¹ by the power of the Holy Spirit; something which faith sees, and which feeds the soul with the substance of eternal life.

55. He writes again: "Why seek the order of nature in Christ's Body, when the Lord God Himself, above nature, was born of a Virgin?"

56. Here someone may rise and say that we are not to reason on the way in which what we see is the Body and what we drink is the Blood, but steadfastly to believe that so it is. Good; but consider your own words. You *believe* that so it is. But therefore you do *not see*; otherwise you would say, not "I *believe*" but "I *see* it to be the Body." But now faith receives the whole, whatever it is, and sense perceives nothing; so the Body and Blood which are received do not exist in nature (*specie*), but in power (*virtute*). Hence Ambrose says that we must

¹ It appears that by this word (*intus*), here and habitually, he means not "in the interior of the element," but "in the sphere of inward, *i. e.* spiritual, fact."

regard not the order of nature but the power of Christ, which creates what was not, and changes it into what it was not. He adds ; "It was Christ's true Flesh that was crucified and buried ; therefore it is the Sacrament of that true Flesh of which He says 'This is my Body.'"

57. Note the distinction. Of the flesh which was crucified and buried he says, "It is the true Flesh of Christ." Of that taken in the Sacrament he says, "It is the Sacrament of that Flesh" ; distinguishing the Sacrament of the Flesh from the verity of it. Of the verity of the Flesh taken of the Virgin, he says that it was crucified ; of the mystery celebrated in the Church, he says that it is the Sacrament of that Flesh. The Flesh in which Christ was crucified is, in his view, not mystery but the verity. The Flesh which bears the likeness of that in the mystery is not flesh in nature (*species*) but in Sacrament. In nature (*species*) it is bread ; in Sacrament it is the Lord's Body.

58. Again Ambrose : "What we eat and drink the Holy Ghost teaches, by the prophet, saying, Taste and see how good the Lord is.'" Do the bread and the wine taken bodily shew how good He is? No ; in the bread and the drink referred to we are to think of nothing bodily, but only of the spiritual ; for the Lord is Spirit.

59. Again ; "Christ is in that Sacrament, for it is His Body ; and so it is not bodily but spiritual food." Clear and true words. He does not say, "That bread and wine are Christ ;" this would be to assert that Christ is perishable. For whatever in that food is tasted bodily is confessedly perishable.

60. You, [my opponent,] take up Ambrose's words, "It is His Body," and claim him as on your side. But note what follows : "It is therefore not bodily but

spiritual food." So you must not bring bodily sense to bear here. It is His Body, yet not bodily but spiritual. It is His Blood, yet not bodily but spiritual. It is the Body, but not bodily. It is the Blood, but not bodily.

61. He proceeds : "So too the Apostle here says concerning the type of it, that our fathers ate spiritual food and drank spiritual drink. For the Body of God is spiritual ; Christ's Body is the Body of a Divine Spirit ; for Christ is a Spirit, as we read in Lamentations [iv. 20], 'The Spirit before our face is the Lord Christ.'"¹

62. Here he teaches how to understand the mystery of the Body and Blood. He says that our fathers ate spiritual food, though the manna was merely bodily ; and then adds, of the Christian mystery, defining the sense in which it is Christ's Body, "The Body of God is spiritual." Christ is God ; and the Body of the Incarnation and Passion is a true body, visible and palpable. But the Body called God's mystery is not bodily but spiritual, and so neither visible nor palpable. But the Body celebrated in the Church, as to its visible nature, is both perishable and palpable.

63. How then is it said to be the Body of a Divine Spirit? According to what is in it, which is truly spiritual, invisible, imperishable.

64. Hence, in his quotation from Lamentations, he shews how it is to be considered as Christ's Body ; even according to what is in it, Christ's Spirit, the divine power of the Word (*Verbi*), which both feeds and cleanses the soul.

¹ This passage is applied to our Lord by Justin, Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen and Augustine.

65. Ambrose says again; "This food strengthens, this drink gladdens man's heart, as the prophet [Psal. civ. 15] says." Does bodily meat and drink do this to *the heart*? Ambrose significantly adds; "This food, this drink, what are they? The Body of Christ, the Body of a Divine Spirit; more plainly, Christ Himself, who is a Spirit." Plainly he teaches that all here is to be apprehended spiritually, nothing bodily.

66. For the heart means the soul; and the soul is fed not by bodily food but by the Divine Word. So Ambrose, *de Sacramentis*, lib. v. [c. 4]; "Not the bread which goes into the body, but the bread of life eternal, sustains the soul."

67. That Ambrose said this not of common bread but of the bread of Christ's Body is plain from the context. He speaks of the "daily bread" for which we pray.

68. And so he adds; "If it is daily bread, why take it only once a year, like the Orientals (*Græci in Oriente*)? Take daily what daily benefits you; live so as to be worthy to do so." Manifestly he speaks of the bread of Christ's Body, which does not go into the body, but is the bread of life eternal, feeding the soul.

69. So Ambrose shews us how great is the difference between the Body and the Blood of the Passion and that Body which, in the mystery of the Passion, Christians daily celebrate, and that Blood which, daily taken, is the mystery of the Blood of Redemption. This bread and wine are the Body and the Blood not according to what they seem, but according to the spiritual life they minister. But the Body of the Passion exhibited (*præferebat*) no other nature (*species*) than that in which it consisted. It was what it really (*vere*) seemed, and only that; and so

was the Blood. But the Blood and the Body which now we take are one thing in nature (*species*) and another in significance. In [one respect they fed the body; in another they fill the soul and are, as it were, the substance of life eternal.

70. St Jerome, on Ephesians [ch. i.], thus writes of the same thing; "Christ's Flesh and Blood are understood in two senses; as spiritual and divine (of which He says, 'My Flesh is meat indeed, &c.'), or as the Flesh crucified and the Blood shed by the spear."

71. Note Jerome's distinction. In his view, the two differ as bodily from spiritual, visible from invisible, divine from human. The spiritual Flesh and spiritual Blood taken by the mouth are not the same as the Flesh and the Blood of the Passion.

72. For the Flesh crucified, taken of the Virgin, compacted with sinews and bones, was animated by a rational Soul. But the spiritual Flesh, our spiritual food, as to its outward nature (*species*), is made of corn, is not compacted with sinews and bones, nor has limbs, nor has a rational soul for growth and movement. Whatever in it gives life is a power spiritual, invisible, divine. So what is outwardly seen is far different from what in mystery is believed. Moreover, the crucified Flesh was outwardly what it was inwardly; true Flesh of true Man.

73. Consider too that in the bread of the Sacrament there is represented in a figure not only Christ's Body but the Body of the faithful. For it is made of many grains, even as the body of the faithful grows by individual conversions through the Word of God.

74. So as in the mystery the bread is taken for Christ's Body, it signifies also the faithful in Christ. And as it

is said to be the body of the faithful not bodily but spiritually, so not bodily but spiritually must it be understood to be Christ's Body.

75. In the wine called the Blood of Christ water is to be mingled; the one without the other may not be offered. Because¹ Christ and His people cannot exist apart, as Head and members. Now if the wine is changed bodily into Christ's Blood, the water is changed bodily into the blood of His people; for the consecration is one, and the reason (*ratio*) one. But in the water, as to its matter (*corpus*), there is no change; then there is no bodily change in the wine. Whatever the water signifies is taken spiritually; so what the wine intimates concerning Christ's Blood is to be taken spiritually also.

76. And things different are not the same. The Body of the Passion is now immortal, impassible. But the Body celebrated in the Church is temporal and perishable; it belongs to the pilgrimage, not to the Fatherland [*in via non in patria*, a familiar antithesis]. So the two are not the same. But if so, how can both be called in verity the Body and Blood?

77. For if the bread is the Body, in the sense of verity, then it is imperishable, impassible, eternal. But what we can break and eat and swallow is perishable. So it is one thing which is done outwardly, another which is believed. As to sense, it is perishable; as to what is believed, *that* is imperishable. So what appears outwardly is not the Thing, but its image. What the mind perceives (*quod mente sentitur et intelligitur*) is the Reality.

78. So Augustine, on St John [*in cap. vi. tract 26, § 11*],

¹ The Oxford Editors compare Cyprian, *Ep.* lxi.iii., for these reasons.

speaking of Christ's Body and Blood, says: "Moses, Phineas, and many others, ate manna and died not. Why? Because they understood that visible food spiritually, and tasted it spiritually, that they might be satisfied spiritually. We also receive visible food; but the Sacrament is one thing, its virtue another." Again; "'This is the bread which descends from heaven.' This bread was signified by the manna, and by the altar of God. Both these things were Sacraments; differing in signs, the same in signification. So St Paul [1 Cor. x. 1—4, quoted above, § 61]. He says, '*The same* spiritual meat and drink.' The same spiritually; for bodily they differed. They ate manna, we another thing; but the spiritual thing is the same for us both . . . The Rock was Christ in sign (*in signo*); the true Christ was in the Word, and in Flesh."

79. Further [John vi. 50]: "'This is the bread which came from heaven, that if any shall eat of it he may not die.' But this pertains not to the visible Sacrament but to its virtue; to the man who eats inwardly, not outwardly; with heart, not teeth."

80. Further on, upon the words of the Saviour [John vi. 61, 62], he writes; "'Does this stumble you, my saying that I give you my Flesh to eat, and my Blood to drink? If then you shall see the Son of Man going up where He was before?' What does He mean? They thought He would distribute His Body; He said He would ascend, entire, to heaven. Then at length they would see that His grace is not taken with the teeth; and He adds, 'It is the Spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing.'"

81. Later again Augustine says; "'If any man,' says

the Apostle [Rom. viii. 9], 'have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of His.' 'Therefore it is the Spirit that quickeneth ; the flesh profiteth nothing ; the words that I speak unto you, they are Spirit, and life.' What means that phrase, 'they are Spirit and life'? It is, that they are to be understood spiritually. Understood so, they are Spirit and life ; understood carnally, they are Spirit and life still, but not to thee."

82. Augustine thus, treating of our Lord's words concerning the Sacrament of His Body and Blood, teaches that those words are to be understood spiritually. The Lord recalls His disciples, who were stumbled, from the flesh to the Spirit, from bodily vision to invisible (spiritual) intelligence.

83. Thus then the food and the drink of the Body and the Blood are truly (*vere*) His Body and His Blood in the sense in which they are Spirit and Life.

84. Again ; things identical have a common definition. Of Christ's true Body we say, He is true God, Son of the Father before the worlds ; true Man, Son of His Mother in the end of the world. But this cannot be said of the Body which in mystery we celebrate. Therefore we see that *that* is the Body in figure and image (*figura et imagine*), in order that of the verity, the Thing, may be thus perceived (*ut veritas, res ipsa, sentiatur*).

85. In the prayers said after the Mystery, to which the people answer *Amen*, the priest says, "We humbly implore Thee that we, receiving the pledge of eternal life, may receive in real participation what we touch in the image of the Sacrament." ¹

¹ The Oxford Editors say, *Extant hæc in lib. ii. Sacram.*

86. For the elements are the pledge and image of another Thing; they have regard to somewhat other. Pledge and image signify the things of which they are signs; they do not openly shew them. So the (sacramental) Body and Blood are pledge and image of something future. What is now shewn by likeness shall hereafter be shewn openly. They signify now; they shall disclose hereafter. So it is one thing which we celebrate now; another which we shall see then.

87. Thus the Church now celebrates the Body and the Blood, but by way of pledge and image. As for the verity, it shall be when not the pledge or image but the verity of the Thing (*ipsius rei veritas*) shall appear.

88. The Office says again: "May Thy Sacraments effect in us what they contain; so that what we now celebrate in figure (*in specie*) we may receive in the verity of the things themselves."¹ Here they are celebrated "in figure"; therefore not in reality. It is a representation, not a display of the Thing. *Species* and *veritas* are far different things. So the sacramental Body is pledge and figure; the other Body is the verity itself. When we come to this, the other shall be done away.

89. So the two Bodies differ as a pledge differs from what it pledges, as an image from what it represents. Great then is the difference. This which is celebrated on the pilgrimage (*in via*) is to be received spiritually (for faith believes what it does not see); it spiritually feeds and gladdens the soul, and gives life eternal; while we

Rom. Eccl. per Thomasium, ed. 4to. Rom. 1680, p. 180. It is not in the present Missal.

¹ Oxford Editors: *Missale Rom. Post-Communio in Sabbato iv. Temp. Septembr.*

look not at that which feeds the body, but at that which by faith is spiritually eaten. The Body of the Passion and the Resurrection is the Lord's own literal (*proprium*) Body, of which He said, "Behold my hands and feet ; handle me and see ; a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have."

90. Fulgentius says, in his book *De Fide* [c. 19]: "Doubt not that the only-begotten God, the Word made Flesh, offered Himself a sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour. To Him, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, beasts were sacrificed under the Old Testament ; and to Him now, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, the Church ever offers the sacrifice of bread and wine in faith and love. In the ancient victims there was a signification of the Flesh which the Lord was to offer and the Blood He was to shed for our redemption. In our sacrifice is a thanksgiving and commemoration of that same Flesh and Blood, now offered and shed ; of which St Paul says, 'Take heed to yourselves . . . to rule the Church of God which He purchased with His own Blood.' In those sacrifices therefore that which was to be given for us was signified in figure (*figuratè*) ; in this sacrifice that which has now been given is openly shewn forth (*ostenditur*)."

91. He plainly means that as the old saints had in their sacrifices a figure of things to come, while we in ours have a figure of things now come.

92. These words plainly set forth that difference of the two Bodies of which we have said so much. For the Lord's true Body had nothing in it mystical or figurative. But this His mystical [sacramental] Body

shews one thing outwardly in figure, another thing inwardly to faith.

93. Let us close with one more witness from Augustine, in his sermon on the Sacrament of the altar:¹ "That which you see on God's altar you saw last night; you have not yet heard what it is, what it signifies, of how great a Thing it is the Sacrament. What do you see? Bread and wine; your eyes are witness. But—to say what your faith demands for further instruction—the bread is Christ's Body, the cup is His Blood. But how? The prophet says [Isa. vii. 9], 'Unless you believe you will not understand'; and you may say to me, 'Thou hast bid 'us believe; explain, that we may understand.' For the thought may arise, 'Our Lord Jesus, we know whence He took flesh, even of Mary; and that He grew, and was persecuted, and crucified, and buried, and raised; and that in Ascension He lifted His own Body to the Throne, whence He will come to judge us. How then is the bread His Body, and the cup (or rather its contents) His Blood?' Brethren, these things are called Sacraments just because in them one thing is seen and another understood. What is seen has bodily nature (*species*); what is understood has spiritual profit."

94. So Augustine teaches us how to think of the true Body and of the Body set on the altar and partaken of by the people. The one is whole and entire, not divided, not veiled. The other, placed on the Table, is a figure, because a Sacrament. Outwardly it has the bodily nature which is seen, and which feeds the body. But

¹ Oxford Editors: *Extat . . . ad calcem Epistolæ Fulgentii ad Ferrandum.*

what is understood inwardly has spiritual efficacy, quickening the soul.

95. Of this mystical [sacramental] Body he goes on to speak more plainly in the context: "If you wish to understand Christ's Body, hear the apostle saying, 'Ye are Christ's body and His limbs.' So the mystery of what you are is set on the Lord's Table; the Lord's (*Domini*¹) mystery ye receive. To what you are you answer *Amen*. Be then each a limb of Christ's Body, that the *Amen* may be true. How then are we in the bread? Let us answer simply in St Paul's words, 'One bread, one body, we are, being many.'"

96. So, according to Augustine, as truly as the bread on the altar signifies Christ, it signifies the body of His people communicating. The Lord's true Body is that of the Incarnation, Cross and Throne. The Body in the Sacrament contains the mystery of that Body, *and also* of the Body of the faithful.

97. Your Majesty's wisdom may thus see, from Scripture and the Fathers, that the bread called the Body of Christ is a figure (*figura*), because it is a mystery. The Body Proper is no figure; it is the manifestation of the Thing itself. For the vision of It believers long; then shall we be satisfied.

98. But in the sacramental Body there is a figure, both of Christ's Body and of His people's.

99. Let us add, that the bread and the cup, which both are called and are² the Lord's Body and Blood, represent the memory of His Passion, as He said: "Do

¹ Such appears to be the Lobez reading; it is Boileau's. Another reading of editions is *vestrum*.

² See above, 212, for the reading here.

this in remembrance of Me ;” which St. Paul explains, “ Ye shall shew (*annunciabitis*) His death till He come.”

100. So we learn that this bread and cup are for a figure and memory of His Death, that they may remind us¹ of His Work done in the past, with a view to our being made, through that Work remembered, partakers of life eternal ; knowing well that when we see Him in glory we shall need no such mementos.

101. Yet think me not to mean by this that in the Sacrament His Body and Blood are not received by the faithful. For faith receives what it believes, not what the eye beholds. For it is spiritual food, and spiritually feeds the soul ; as the Lord said, “ It is the Spirit which quickeneth ; the flesh profiteth nothing.”

102. In my weakness I have thus sought to obey your Majesty on this great theme. I have not followed my own presumptuous opinion, but the Fathers. If you think what I have said Catholic, ascribe it to the merit of your faith, which stooped from the throne to consult your poor subject. If you like it not, ascribe it (*deputa*) to my weakness, which failed adequately to explain what it desired.

¹ Note his interpretation of Luke xxii. 19, 1 Cor. xi. 26. See above, Additional Note 8 (to the *Brief Declaration*).

As these sheets go to press I am shewn an able essay on Ratramn's book, by the Rev. Dr Dunlop Moore, in the *Presbyterian Quarterly* (U. S. A.). I am unfortunately unable to quote the number of the *Quarterly*.

APPENDIX III

LAVATHER'S 'HISTORIA CONTROVERSIE
SACRAMENTARIÆ'

IT seems in place to make some special mention of this book, which gives in a clear form, by way of annals, an account of the long conflict on the nature and work of the Eucharist waged within the circles of the Reformation. I have attempted a short summary of its narrative. It will be seen that here and there it touches directly the special topics of this book; the English martyrs, the *Brief Declaration*, "the Book of Bertram," all have a place in the scene. Repeated perusals have only confirmed and raised my opinion of the noble Christian spirit in which Lavather writes; it is not too often that so manifest a desire to do justice to opponents appears in the record of an acute and contemporary controversy in religion. Incidentally the book is valuable as throwing light on the real line of Zwingel's sacramental teaching. It seems to me certain, not only from

Zwingel's own language, but quite as much from the unvarying testimony of his nearest followers, that that remarkable man, one of the most attractive and original of the characters of the Reformation, was far indeed from teaching a "cold and empty" doctrine of the Holy Communion. If I mistake not, he stood really in the position ultimately reached by Ridley and Cranmer; but they treated the subject with the advantage of a fuller experience of the controversy, and probably with a wider historical knowledge. One fact is significant; Zwingel's mantle fell on Bullinger; and Bullinger was the sacramental teacher whom the successors of Cranmer and Ridley, the theologians of Elizabeth, commended to the English clergy.¹

The narrative subjoined will be read with different thoughts by different readers. By some it may be taken to shew how hopeless is the confusion which must follow when once the long central tradition of the middle ages is abandoned. To myself it seems rather to speak, as regards the divines of Switzerland, of a noble fidelity to the demands of conscience and reason as before God. Few pages of Church history, where great doctrinal problems have been agitated, shew a

¹ See below, 270.

brighter example than they have given us in the way of general temperateness of spirit, fairness to opponents, reverence and penetration of Christian thought, and the desire on the one hand to avoid all that would confuse the vision of faith towards Christ, on the other hand to reach results not merely negative but positive on the subject of the great Sacrament of our redemption.

Not that a deep undertone of sadness does not pervade the story. Saddest of all the elements in it is its record, calm, respectful, even reverent, of the unhappy exaggerations of thought and language into which in this controversy Luther's great spirit was betrayed; surely in the first instance by instigations from men less magnanimous than himself. Those who find among the true spiritual leaders (and followers) of the Reformation, German, Swiss, French, English, some of the greatest and the best beloved figures of the Christian past, names living and breathing to us with a life and individuality indescribably genial and inspiring, must feel a personal grief as they study the long campaign in Lavather's narrative, and see one pre-eminent leader so much forgetting the mind of Christ. But the grief has its medicine, and its priceless lessons.

Among the details of my summary I trust that

the account of the *Consensus Tigurinus* may be serviceable. I much regret my total failure to get sight of the *Confessio Orthodoxa*.

Lavather's book is entitled, *Historia de Origine et Progressu Controversiæ Sacramentariæ de Cæna Domini, ab anno Nativitatis Christi M.D.XXIV. usque ad annum M.D.LXIII deducta. Ludovico Lavathero Tigurino Authore. Tiguri. Excudebat Christophorus Froschoverus. Anno Domini M.D.LXIII*. I know of no modern edition.

In 1602 Rudolph Hospinian, also of Zurich, published a much more voluminous work with nearly the same title. It fills two folios, of which the second covers the period from 1517 to 1602. This volume is in fact Lavather as a text, surrounded by way of commentary with ample and interesting additions.¹ I have here and there quoted Hospinian in my summary of Lavather.²

¹ The title describes it as a history of the controversy *inter Lutheranos, et Ubiquistas, et Orthodoxos, quos Zwinglianos ceu Calvinistas vocant. Tiguri, apud Johannem Wolphium, M.D.CII.*

² For Hospinian's account of Zwingel's doctrine, see especially vol. ii. pp. 10*b*, 27, 43*b*, 88, 101*b*, 103*b*, 112*b*.

SUMMARY OF THE NARRATIVE.

1524. “Huldrychus Zuinglius”¹ begins at Zurich his labours on eucharistic doctrine. He explains *per tropum* the words, *Hoc est corpus meum*.

Carlstadt (Bugenhagen) publishes the opinion that the Lord’s Body and Blood are not contained *naturaliter* in the Holy Supper.

1525. Luther answers Carlstadt, in *Contra cœlestes Prophetas*. Carlstadt visits Zwingel, who thinks his view right, but ill-expressed. Zwingel addresses Francis I., and says in the course of his statement of doctrine that the Sacraments not only do not cause grace but do not distribute it.² Zwingel, in April, *dreams* that he is debating on the Eucharist, and that he quotes the words, spoken of the paschal Lamb, “EST *transitus*” (“*It is the passover*”). This confirms his view of the meaning of the sacramental *Est*.

Æcolampadius (Hausschein) of Basel agrees with Zwingel, saying that Augustine has already taught

¹ Ulrich Zwingli, or as he usually spelt his name, Zwingel.

² Words afterwards amply explained. They were an incautious way of denying an inherent power in the Elements. Bellarmine, says Hospinian (ii. p. 35), owns that Zwingel “killed and buried” the opinion that the Sacraments were mere pictures.

him (Æcolampadius) the same view. Erasmus half approves Æcolampadius' treatise: he calls it *doctum, disertum, elaboratum*; but it is dangerous to differ from the Church. The Suabian divines (*Suevi*), especially Brentius (Brentz), of Halle, attack Æcolampadius, and are backed by Luther.

1526. Bucer (Butzer) of Strasburg, always anxious to mediate, replies to Brentz.

Erasmus, appealed to by the Swiss States, repudiates the "tropical" view; he had never approved of the *Wiclevitæ*. This utterance was occasioned by a published statement (of Leo Judæ's) that Erasmus had privately owned his belief of the manducation of the Lord's Body and Blood *per solam fidem*. Leo reasserts his statement.

1527. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, writes at great length against Æcolampadius.¹

Luther challenges Zwingel to controversy. Zwingel sends to Luther his *Amica Exegesis*; Erasmus writes to Luther that it is a writing *non edentulum*, "not toothless."

Luther writes for the first time *in German* on *Hoc est Corpus meum, contra fanaticos Sacramentariorum spiritus*; he is very vehement. Zwingel now also takes to German, and others do the same.

¹ See above, 207.

“So met the chiefs; alas for the Church! Many were stumbled, many went back, and the Papists rejoiced.” Upper Germany was much with Zwingel.

The crucial questions were four. 1. Are the Lord’s words to be explained by metonymy? 2. Do we receive the true Body and Blood by faith alone? 3. Is Christ, as to His Body, in one place only? 4. Do the wicked receive the true Body and Blood?

Luther had thought highly of Zwingel (*fortis Christi athleta*) before the struggle. And Hospinian gives proof that Luther’s own previous views were far nearer those of Zwingel than they afterwards appeared to be (ii., p. 8^a &c.).

1528. A Disputation is held at Berne, attended by representatives of many Reformed Churches. Romanist divines are invited, but decline. The point for discussion is, Is the Lord’s true Body bodily received?

Luther writes his *Magna Confessio de Cæna*. Œcolampadius, Zwingel and, *eleganti et festivo dialogo*, Bucer, reply.

The Silesians issue a Confession on the Eucharist. They explain *hoc* as a *demonstratio spiritualis*, pointing to the heavenly Food, the Lord in heaven.

1529. The Mass is abolished at Strasburg. The Diet meets at Speyer. The Protestant princes there are urged by some of their divines to interdict "the Sacramentaries" in their states. The Elector, the Landgrave and others, decline, claiming a hearing for both sides.

In October, at Marburg, in Nassau, a Conference meets, in which both Luther and Zwingel are present.¹ Articles of concord are adopted. It is agreed that the Mass can win no grace for *another person* than the communicant, living or dead ; that the Sacrament is the sign of the true Body and Blood ; that the Sacrament, like the written Word, is given that "weak consciences may be roused to faith by the Spirit." "Whether the true Body and Blood are bodily in the elements we are not agreed, but we will live in charity, so far as conscience suffers." But Luther would not add that "we hold each other for brethren."

The meeting was broken up by an outbreak of the *sudor Anglicus*.

Many at Marburg were impressed in favour of Zwingel.

1530. The Diet meets at Augsburg, and the *Confessio Augustana* is presented. It says that in the Supper *vere et substantialiter* adsunt corpus

¹ See D'Aubigné, *Hist. de la Réf. du XVI. Siècle*, xiii. c.

et Sanguis Domini. The Swiss meet this with reserve, while owning that the words have a catholic sense: “along with the Bread and the Wine, that is, in the reception of the Sacrament of the Body and the Blood, Christ Himself imparts Himself for spiritual fruition.”

Zwingel writes his Confession to the Emperor. Many take his side. Bucer, with some show of success, instigated by the Duke of Saxony, visits Luther and mediates. Melanchthon and Œcolampadius write in controversy with each other.

1531. Some members of the League of Schmal-kald wish to bring the Swiss into political union. On doctrinal grounds the Elector negatives this.

Zwingel dies, Oct. 48, falling in the battle of Kappel, fought between the Reforming and Romanist states of Switzerland. He dies “as a good citizen and pastor,” present on the field not as a warrior but as a minister of Christ.

Heinrich Bullinger succeeds him as chief pastor at Zurich.

Œcolampadius dies at Basel, in November, sinking in part under grief over the disaster of Kappel. He is succeeded by Oswald Myconius.

The Zwinglians are persecuted in France. The Lutherans are everywhere fierce against them.

Bucer, after Kappel, urges them to a compro-

mise (*sententia Lutheri tolerabilis est*); they in return appeal to him to stand firm.

1532. The terror of the Turks forces the Emperor to make terms with the Protestant princes.

Luther publicly warns Albert of Brandenburg against the Zwinglians. The Zurich doctors, to vindicate themselves, send to the prince "the Book of Bertram the Presbyter, written in the time of the Emperor Charles the Bald, which Leo Judæ had translated into German; that from it he might understand that the doctrine of Zwingel was not new and false, but confirmed by the consent of the oldest writers of the Church."¹

1533. Luther protests against any compromise.

Bucer visits Zurich, to conciliate if possible. He thinks that Luther and Zwingel differ more in words than in substance. He is met firmly, but in a cordial spirit.

1534. The Saxons and the Emperor Ferdinand come to terms about toleration for the Lutherans; the "Sacramentaries" are excluded.

A Conference for Reformed unity assembles at Constance; Bucer meets the Zurichers. The

¹ It is obvious that this sentence is important as a witness to what Zwingel's nearest followers understood his views to be. They were such that "Bertram" would correctly represent them to the student.

Suabians fraternize with them. A common statement is suggested, that "The true Body and Blood are in the Supper *vere, hoc est substantive et effectualiter; non autem quantitative aut qualitative adesse et porrigi.*" The Swiss think this obscure and too technical.

1535. Luther's unmeasured language calls out the Swiss again. They resolve to frame an *Apologia*; but they yield to the dissuasion of Capito (Köpfel), who assures them that Luther has been misinformed and pushed on by others.

1536. A Conference assembles at Basel; Bucer, Bullinger and others are present. A Confession is agreed upon.¹ Of Sacraments, it says that they consist at once of Signs and Things; that their whole benefit depends on the reception of them, in faith; and that the Lord is the direct Giver of the blessing. In the Holy Supper "He gives (*exhibet*) to His true people His Body and Blood, that is to say, Himself." There is no "natural" union of the Signs with the Things; no local inclusion, nor carnal presence; but the Elements are, by the Lord's institution, symbols by which He, through the ministry of the Church, gives a true communication of His Body and Blood, to be the

¹ This is the *Confessio Helvetica* printed in the (very imperfect) Oxford *Sylloge Confessionum*, 1827.

food of life eternal. "This sacred food we use often, because, admonished by it, we fix the eye of faith on the death of the Crucified, and, meditating with sweetness ineffable on our salvation, are refreshed by this spiritual meat, and rejoice, and render thanks." The Signs testify to the saving fact; they represent things high and holy, and, by a wonderful analogy, they throw light on the mysteries of salvation. To these ends they are a powerful aid to faith. And moreover they are our Oath of allegiance to our King.

The Strasburg divines warmly press for concord on the lines of this statement.

Later, a Conference meets again at Basel. It confirms the results of the first Conference, but dissuades the printing of the Confession.

A Conference between Luther and the Strasburgers, to be held at Eisenach, is actually held at Grimm. Luther is impracticable. Melancthon effects a compromise on the basis of the statement of Irenæus, that the Eucharist consists of two things—one earthly, the other heavenly. With the Elements, *vere et substantialiter*, are present, given and taken, the Lord's Body and Blood. All the papal superstition in this Sacrament is rejected.

Erasmus dies, in July. Shortly before his death,

visited by Pellican, he receives him cordially, and makes honourable (*honorifica*) mention of Bullinger.

The Swiss deprecate the concord effected at Grimm.

A third Conference meets at Basel ; Bucer again labours for unity.

In October "a great Synod" meets at Berne, and it is resolved to send a Declaration to Luther.

Joachim Vadian, of St Gallen, *Consul Sangalensis, Helveticæ decus et lumen*, publishes in six books his *Aphorisms* on the Eucharist,¹ primarily to vindicate the Church of the Canton from the charge of misbelief and irreverence.

1537. The Protestant princes and states of Germany meet at Schmalkald, to consult on the papal announcement of an approaching General Council. To Schmalkald the Swiss send their Declaration, for Luther ; but he is ill and absent.

In May, a Synod at Berne advises preachers to omit *exotica et contentiosa verba ; substantialiter, corporaliter, carnaliter, supernaturaliter, &c.*

Luther writes to the Swiss in a conciliatory tone (*placide*), and tells them that he does not believe that the Lord descends (at the consecration) from Heaven, visibly or invisibly.

¹ It was this book which the author sent to Cranmer, to Cranmer's displeasure. See above, 12.

1538. A Synod meets at Zurich: Capito and Bucer are there; at the suggestion, they say, of Philip of Hesse. Bucer presses for a compromise. It is resolved to say to Luther that they hold by their (Basel) Confession on fundamental points, and are thus far in accord with him, and that they beg him not to blame them if they state their belief about the Presence *commodis et usitatis verbis*. Let him not listen to slanders; nor will they; in order that their hearts, his and theirs, may more and more be one.

In June they receive a friendly answer from Luther; and other signs of hope appear. But Bucer, pained by his personal failure with the Swiss, draws off from them in some degree, and some other scholars go with him. Some say of him, in view of his eagerness for peace with Luther at almost any price, "He drinks the lees for love of the wine."

1539. Luther's tone is again severe. In view of the General Council he writes, in German, *On the Fathers and the Councils*; and in the course of the work calls Zwingel a Nestorian, for denying that the Divine Nature in our Lord had suffered.

1542. Luther almost charges the Zwinglians with bringing down the Turks on Europe, as a scourge for their sins; and with sharing the wild

errors of "Anabaptism." But the Zurichers, anxious to conciliate Luther, make no public reply.

1543. Froschover, the Zurich printer, sends a copy of a new translation of the Bible to Luther at Wittemberg. Luther desires him no more to send him anything produced by the Zurich pastors; they are on the way to perdition, and are drawing others thither with themselves.

The Zurichers publish Zwingel's Works, with R. Gualther's *Apologia pro Huldr. Zwinglio*; an exposition and defence, from Scripture and history, of Zwingel's teaching.

1544. Luther publishes his *Annotations on Genesis*, in which he constantly attacks the "Sacramentaries," and foretells that after his death they will ruin his work.

A little later, against the entreaties of Melanchthon, he issues his *Last Confession concerning the Eucharist*. Here he explicitly styles Zwingel, Œcolampadius and their friends heretics, and consigns them to perdition.

Melanchthon writes sorrowfully to Bullinger about this unprovoked attack, calling it *atrocissimum scriptum*, "a ruthless writing." The Zurichers are entreated by many not to answer Luther publicly; he has nobly served the Church, and he is now spurred on by flatterers, *adulatores*, around him.

They resolve however to make a public statement and defence, mainly lest, after Luther's now evidently approaching death, they should be charged with wrong motives for silence.

1545. Accordingly, in Latin and German, they publish their *Apologia*. Its main points are (1) a recital of the compromise and compact arrived at in the Marburg Conference, (2) an Exposition of their faith and teaching, (3) an Answer to the charge of heresy.¹

"This book (*liber*) was read most greedily (*lectus est avidissime*)," alike by friends and foes.² The authors were charged with cruelty to Luther. They replied that they recognized Luther's splendid

¹ This is referred to as the *Orthodoxa Confessio*. I have been quite unable to get a sight of it. It is not included in H. A. Niemeyer's ample *Collectio Confessionum* (Leipzig, 1840). The Rev. N. Dimock, whose knowledge of Reformation literature is both wide and minute, tells me that he has sought for a copy in vain. Hospinian (ii. 197) prints the preamble and the heads, but no more. It is evident however that it did not materially differ from the *Consensus Tigurinus*.

² Compare G. R., 165 : "The coincidence of time makes me believe that Ridley, meeting with this book, which we are told was greedily read at that time by all parties, carried it with him to employ his retirement at Herne this summer, and was inclined by it to give the question a fair examination. So he certainly did, by whatever means induced. And procured likewise a little treatise, written . . . by Ratramus or Bertram, &c."

gifts, but that truth was more to them than even Luther.

Luther, in certain Theses directed against the divines of Louvain, pronounces heretical the *Cingliani et omnes Sacramentarii*. In a letter of the same date (Hospinian, ii. 199), describing himself as *senex, decrepitus, piger, fessus, frigidus, et jam monoculus*, he writes, with a half humorous sternness, *Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio Sacramentariorum, nec stetit in via Zwinglianorum, nec sedit in cathedra Tigurinorum*.

1546. Martin Luther dies, February 18; "the man who first in our age, by his various writings, openly, with great and courageous soul, assailed the errors and abuses of the papacy."¹ On his deathbed he said nothing, so far as is known, of the Controversy. Henceforth the Zurichers resolve to avoid strife to the utmost of their power.

1549. Peter Martyr disputes on the Eucharist at Oxford, where he is Professor of Theology. He refutes Transubstantiation, Consubstantiation and the theory that the Sacraments are bare signs.

¹ From first to last Lavather has not one word of disrespect or anger for Luther. The Swiss appear always to have recognized his consummate greatness of character, and of faith, and to have seen in his attacks on them the results of mis-information and the influence of other and smaller minds.

He is more explicit than he had been before against the Lutheran view.

John Calvin (Cauvin) of Geneva and the Zurich divines issue a common statement of doctrine; the belief that Calvin was at variance with the Zurichers is the occasion. This is the *Consensus Tigurinus*.¹ In summary it is as follows:

Christ is the end of the Law: to know Christ is the sum of the Gospel.

The Sacraments are *appendices Evangelii*. So we begin our statement about them with Christ and His salvation, and do not mention Him only in passing.

He, in His Incarnation, is our Head, that we may in Him be sons of God.

We are joined to Him by faith, and thus are regenerated. He in His Flesh is our Priest, Victim, Brother, Restorer, King. That He may be all this *to us* we must be one with Him. We are one with Him by His Spirit dwelling in us. To attest this union He has given us His Word and His Sacraments.

The Sacraments are given to be (*α*) notes and

¹ Printed in full by Niemeyer (191 &c.). In some important particulars, if I may avow a personal conviction, I take the *Consensus* to be one of the ablest and wisest statements ever made on the great subject in question.

tokens (*tessere*) of our profession and of our brotherhood, (*b*) incitements to thanksgiving, (*c*) exercises for faith and holiness, (*d*) bonds obliging us to obedience, but above all (*e*) that God may by them to us testify, represent and obsignate His grace.

They give nothing that the Word does not give. But they make visible the gifts; they embody them (*in rem ducunt*), and as with seals (*sigillis*) they confirm and ratify them.

The Lord undoubtedly Himself confers (*præstat*) inwardly what to our senses the Sacraments figure; that is, that we may enjoy Christ (*potiamur Christo*); may by the benefit of His Death be reconciled to God; may be renewed to holiness by His Spirit, and may attain righteousness and salvation.

We distinguish between the Signs and the Things signified (*signatas*), but we do not disjoin the truth from the signs. For we confess that all who by faith embrace the promises there offered (*oblato*), receive Christ spiritually with His gifts, and that they who have long been partakers of Christ there continue and renovate (*reparare*) that communion with Him.

In proportion to the work of our faith on the promise there offered does this power and efficacy (of the Sacraments) put itself forth. Not water:

wine, bread, but the Promise, makes us by faith partakers of Christ. We must cling to Christ alone (*hære in solo Christo*).

The Sacraments are God's props for our weakness. Their whole effect lies with His Spirit.

The Spirit is the supreme Seal. The Sacraments are Seals secondary to Him.

The doctrine that the Sacraments work of themselves where no obstacle is opposed is a fiction. God is not tied to them so that those who take them take grace of course.

Christ is offered to all ; but not all are receptive (*capaces*) of Christ.

Even apart from the Sacraments the faithful receive the Things ; as did Cornelius. Christ in the Supper gives Himself to those who already, by faith, have Him.

The grace is not to be restricted to the moment of reception.¹ For those who are baptized in infancy are often regenerated by God in boyhood, or in youth, or even in old age. Thus the utility of Baptism extends over the whole course of life, because the Promise, which is contained in it (*illic*) is of perpetual force.

¹ Here a principle of the first importance is well stated. Meanwhile those who held it had no difficulty in saying, of the act of Baptism, *Sic figuram esse sentio ut simul annexa sit veritas* (*Catech. Genev.*, Niemeyer, 163).

Thus often the blessings of the Eucharist are not restricted to the time of the Ordinance.

There is no local presence in the Eucharist of the true Body and Blood. Christ is **to** be sought only with the soul and the insight of faith.

The literal interpretation of *Hoc est Corpus meum* is unreasonable (*præpostera*); the words are certainly to be taken in the way of figure (*figurate*).

To eat the Lord’s Body and to drink His Blood is to be fed by Christ, through faith, with the power (*virtute*) of His Spirit. We derive life from His Flesh once³ offered in sacrifice and His Blood once shed for expiation. There is no mixture, and no transfusion of substances.

No adoration of Christ in the Bread is lawful. The Bread is not, nor does it contain, the true Thing.

Bucer, from Cambridge, where he is Professor, writes with cordial approval of the *Consensus*.

1551. Bucer dies, at Cambridge, in February, *æt.* 61, amidst the extreme (*incredibilis*) grief of many; a man of distinguished learning, and in this controversy always working for concord. His success was little, but many eminent men saw and honoured his purpose. His apparent leaning to the Lutheran theory is thought to have been less

than it seemed, and the seeming to be due to his longing to see the Swiss and Germans able to act together in the league of Schmalkald.¹

The Interim. The Suabians are scattered.

Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, brought over to the Reformed belief on the Eucharist in 1546, publishes his book on the subject. He is answered by Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester.

Bullinger writes a Treatise on the Eucharist, published by à Lasco. It was afterwards incorporated into Bullinger's *Decades*.²

1552. The English Articles are issued.³

1553. Edward VI. dies, and persecution begins in England. Among the martyrs are, sooner or later, Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Hooper (*Hoperus*), Ferrar (*Ferrerius*); Archbishop and Bishops.

¹ He was on the point of returning to Strasburg, to help the afflicted Church there, when he died.

² Which under Elizabeth were made, by Convocation, a text-book of theology for the less educated clergy. See Bullinger's *Decades*, Parker Society, i. p. viii, or Cardwell's *Synodalia*, ii. 562.

³ Lavater quotes verbatim, evidently with entire concurrence, the (Edwardian) Articles XXIX.—XXXII., in which the doctrine of the Eucharist is stated. These correspond closely to the present Art. XXV., with one exception. Instead of our present third paragraph ("The Body of Christ, &c.") the Edwardian Art. XXXI. is devoted to the denial of the ubiquity of the Lord's Body and its *præsentia realis et corporalis* in the Eucharist.

J. à Lasco leaves England ; he is forbidden by the Lutherans to live in Denmark, or in Saxony. He finds refuge in Embden, and at last in Frankfort.

1556. Ridley's book on the Supper of the Lord is published in Latin at Geneva.¹

There is about this time a sorrowful renewal of strife between the Lutherans and the Swiss.

1557. J. à Lasco, at Frankfort, publishes an apology (*purgatio*) of the Reformed exiles in Germany, arguing for the fact of their substantial agreement with the Confession of Augsburg in the doctrine of the Eucharist.

The *Diallacticon*, “the work of a certain good and learned man,”² appears, written with a view to conciliation ; examining and explaining the language of the Fathers and vindicating a true meaning for the words *natura*, *substantia*, &c.

Joachim Westphalus replies to à Lasco, and gets from the Saxon pastors a large consensus of opinion in support of his contention.

Calvin replies with severity to Westphalus, and asserts that he (Calvin) and Melanchthon, the author of the Augsburg Confession, are of one mind about the Eucharist.

¹ See above, 78, &c.

² It was John Poynet, Bishop of Winchester, 1551—1553.

The English at Embden publish Cranmer's book on the Eucharist, as "augmented by the author in prison, and finally signed with his blood"; to vindicate the Church of England from (apparently Lutheran) accusations of error and profanity.

1558. Elizabeth, *lectissima virgo*, ascends the English throne.

The Scots energetically expel popery.

1559. Martyr publishes his answer to Marcus Antonius Constantius (Gardiner), and dedicates it to Elizabeth. Gardiner's book had hurt the cause of the Church in England, and many pious Englishmen had appealed to Martyr for a reply.

1560. John à Lasco dies in January; a man of noble birth and high ability; led early by Zwingel to the study of Scripture; welcomed by Cranmer to England; consistent in his adherence to the sacramental teaching of Zurich.

Philip Melanchthon dies in April, to the great grief of all Christian men; a man of universal learning; worn out with toils and cares; for a long while latterly the warm friend of many followers of Zwingel.

1563. May the Lord move the hearts of pious princes, to take means for the pacification of the troubled Church, lest this controversy have a disastrous end.

APPENDIX IV

RIDLEY'S EUCHARISTIC DOCTRINE AS SHEWN IN
HIS WRITINGS AT LARGE

THE following collection of passages does not profess to be exhaustive. But it is, I think, fairly complete as regards the representation of various sides of the subject. I have not attempted any elaborate grouping; the order is on the whole chronological rather than topical.¹

i. The Debate in the House of Lords² comes first in order of time. From Mr Tomlinson's book³ I have copied *all* the utterances of Ridley which the reporter preserves, only modernizing the spelling. It will be observed that Ridley closes the Debate. He did not speak (so far as the Report

¹ In *The Eucharistic Presence* (Ch. of Eng. Book Society), by "An English Presbyter" (the Rev. N. Dimock, M.A.), the Eucharistic Doctrine of the English Reformers is collected and very ably discussed.

² See above, 14.

³ See Add. Note 22 to the *Declaration*.

shews) on the first day of the discussion. The first words now printed were spoken Dec. 17.

Roffensis.

“He doubteth not to call His body by the word of the sign of His body” (Augustine).

Est Figura, non tantum figura, &c. (Chrysostom.) This same Body we receive that Christ gave in His Supper.

“Calleth it the grace of His body.” (August.)

* * * * *

Detrahe verbum pani, et est panis. Adde verbum et est sanctus et mysticus (August.). Touching conversion and transelementation. It is changed when the child of wrath is made the Child of God. And we say true that Christ is in us naturally, *i. e.* the very property of His body is in us, that is to say, *Vita.*

* * * * *

As Christ took upon Him manhood and remaineth God, so is bread made by the Holy Ghost holy, yet remaineth bread still. *Panis communionis non est panis simplex sed panis unitus divinitati.* As a burning coal is more than a coal, for there is fire with it. *Conjungit pani divinitatem.* He changeth bread *in virtutem carnis. Non in veritatem.* *Theophylactus* allegeth so.

* * * * *

Concerning the outward thing it is very bread. But according to the power of God is ministered the very body.

* * * * *

The Carnal substance sitteth on the right hand of the Father. After this understanding of the Presence,

He is not in the Sacrament. He is absent, for He saith, He will leave the world. And in another sense (He saith) He will be with us until the end of the world. Expounded thus by Saint Austen—"He goeth away after a certain sort, and is with us still after a certain sort." The Manhood is ever in heaven; His Divinity is everywhere present. When He was here He was *circumscripivé* in one place, as touching His natural body. *Secundum ineffabilem gratiam*—"I will be with you till the consummation." Christ sits in heaven. And is present in the Sacrament by His working.

Worcester (Hethe).

All the old doctors grant a conversion of the bread.
Wherein is the bread converted? Is it in the bread?

Roffensis.

It is converted into the body of Christ. How are we turned in baptism?

Wigorn (Hethe).

Spiritually.

Roffensis.

Even as glass¹ receiveth the light of the sun, but the stone cannot, for it may not pierce through it. So the evil man cannot receive the body.

* * * * *

Panis in quo gratiæ actæ sunt quondam (quoddam?) terrenum est et supernum. He blessed not His natural body but *panem*. And of a phantastical body there is no figure. Tertullian: *Non desinet esse substantia*

¹ Not "a glass," as printed by Gasquet.

panis. Nec panem in quo ipse suum corpus representat, &c. *Renatus* confesseth that *Tertullian* was of this opinion and defended it.

* * * * *

No man saith instead of *Hoc* put in *Panis*; but we say that *Hoc* meaneth *Panis*. *August.* : *Adhibuit Judam convivio suo in quo commendabat figuram corporis sui.* How the body is present, and in what manner. *Quia divinitas se infundit elemento.* Therefore the Human Nature, being in heaven, may be said to be here, *non in unitate naturæ sed in unitate personæ* (*Cyprian*). Where the one nature is the other may be said to be.

There are four kinds of bread. 1. Natural, when he said : *Non in solo pane vivit homo.* 2. The second Sacramental, as *Panis quam frangimus.* 3. The third flesh; when He said, *Panis quam Ego dabo caro mea est.* 4. The fourth divine, as *Ego sum panis vivus qui de cælo descendi.* "When I was daily with you in the Temple ye stretched out no hands against me, but this is even your very hour."

* * * * *

I say not the bread is but a figure; and that any man may perceive. But it is more than a figure, for besides the natural bread there is an operation of divinity, for my senses when they taste and eat perceive but a figure.

Wigorn.

They call it, *Tremendum mysterium, horribile.*

Roffensis.

In that bread is *communio corporis Christi* to the good. But the ill do receive *mortem et judicium.* And

that the doctors use these terms, it is for the reverence ; and so spake they of water . . . Also the question of Charles to Bertram : *Christus manducatur in Sacramento, licet totus sit in cælo*. It is transformed, for of the common bread before, it is made a divine influence. The natural substance of bread remains as it was before.

* * * * *

It is changed in nature, that is to say in property. *Vocat corpus panem propter membrorum convenientiam. Panis est propter nutrimentum corporis. Carnem vocat propter assumptæ carnis proprietatem. Proprietas assumptæ carnis vita erat. Divina essentia infudit se Sacramento.* (Cyprian.)

Cicestren (Day).

My Lord [Ridley] mis-rehearsed Eusebius upon this text : "Touch it with thy faith."

Roffen.

Eusebius saith that it is necessary to make a Sacrament of His Body to the intent that His Body might be honoured continually in a mystery in the Sacrament, which [body] was offered for our redemption. And Christ's body in grace should be here present. *Fide æstimanda non specie*. And for this word [of Eusebius], *In substantiam*, I understand it thus, *In proprietatem. In virtutem substantiæ. Nec dubitatur conversa in naturam Divini Corporis licere, Quando homo fit membrum Christi corporis*.

Cicestrensis.

Et nos vere Verbum Carnem cibo dominico accipimus.
(Hilarins.)

Roffensis.

Verbum carnem, i. e. Christum.

* * * * *

Naturaliter Christus habitat in nobis. Not only in unity and charity, but real in His benefits.

* * * * *

Invisibilis sacerdos convertit visibiles creaturas in substantiam nature sue, id est in substantiæ proprietatem (Eusebius).

* * * * *

It is carnal reason that letteth us. Carnal reason cannot believe that bread is His body. Therefore grossly he imagineth that thinketh bread remaineth no more. A sacrament or mystery is not a [body]. *Do this in remembrance of me.* It was instituted then a certain commemoration of His body. The question is not whether he might do so or not, but whether he hath done it or not. *Baptismus nos salvat*; not the Baptism, but the Holy Ghost which is offered us at our regeneration.

Here the Debate closes.

ii. From the Disputation at Cambridge, 1549.¹ Foxe, vi. 311, &c.

¹ By an oversight, as it must have been, the Parker Society editor omits from Ridley's *Works* his reported part in this Disputation, and gives only his Determination at the close of it. The whole is printed in the edition of the *Brief Declaration (cum præfatione Henrici Whartoni*, says Tanner) published in 1688. See above and below, 87, 309.

Glynn: "You do grant that this Bread doth quicken or give life; which if it do, then it is not a natural bread but a supersubstantial Bread."

Rochester: "So doth the effectual and lively Word of God, which, for that it nourisheth the soul, it doth give life; for that the divine Essence infuseth itself unspeakably into the faithful receiver of the Sacrament."

Rochester (replying to Langdale); "Sir, you are deceived greatly, for there is no change either of the substance or of the accidents; but in very deed there do come unto the bread other accidents; insomuch that whereas the bread and wine were not sanctified before, nor holy, yet afterwards they be sanctified, and so do receive another sort or kind of virtue which they had not before."

Rochester: "Christ dwelleth in us by faith, and by faith we receive Christ both God and Man, both in spirit and in flesh; that is, the sacramental eating is the means and way whereby we attain to the spiritual eating, and indeed for the strengthening of us to the eating of this spiritual food was the Sacrament ordained."

iii. From the Determination, 1549. *Works*, 178. He quotes Heb. ix. and x., and proceeds—

"These Scriptures do persuade me to believe that there is no other oblation of Christ (albeit I am not ignorant there are many sacrifices¹) but that which was once made upon the Cross."

¹ I do not feel sure of the point of this statement.

iv. From the *Reasons why the Lord's Board should rather be after the form of a Table than of an Altar* (1550). *Works*, 323.

Christ did institute the Sacrament of His Body and Blood at the Last Supper at a table, and not at an altar; as it appeareth manifestly by the three Evangelists. And St Paul calleth the coming to the Holy Communion, the coming unto the Lord's Supper. And also it is not read that any of the Apostles or the primitive Church did ever use any altar in ministration of the Holy Communion.

Wherefore, seeing the form of a table is more agreeable to Christ's institution, and with the usage of the Apostles and of the primitive Church, than the form of an altar, therefore the form of a table is rather to be used, than the form of an altar, in the administration of the Holy Communion.

* * * * *

The form of a table shall more move the simple from the superstitious opinions of the popish Mass, unto the right use of the Lord's Supper. For the use of an altar is to make sacrifice upon it; the use of a table is to serve for men to eat upon. Now, when we come unto the Lord's Board, what do we come for? to sacrifice Christ again, and to crucify Him again? or to feed upon Him that was once only crucified and offered up for us? If we come to feed upon Him, spiritually to eat His Body, and spiritually to drink His Blood (which is the true use of the Lord's Supper), then no man can deny but the form of a table is more meet for the Lord's Board, than the form of an altar.

v. From the *Injunctions* of the Bishop of London, 1550. *Works*, 319.

That no minister do counterfeit the popish Mass, in kissing the Lord's Board; washing his hands or fingers after the Gospel, or the receipt of the Holy Communion; shifting the book from one place to another; laying down and licking the chalice after the Communion; blessing his eyes with the sudaris thereof, or paten, or crossing his head with the same; holding his fore-fingers and thumbs joined together towards the temples of his head, after the receiving of the Sacrament; breathing on the bread, or chalice; saying the Agnus before the Communion; shewing the Sacrament openly before the distribution, or making any elevation thereof; ringing of the sacring bell, or setting any light upon the Lord's Board. And finally, that the minister, in the time of the Holy Communion, do use only the ceremonies and gestures appointed by the Book of Common Prayer, and none other, so that there do not appear in them any counterfeiting of the popish Mass.

Whereas in divers places some use the Lord's Board after the form of a table, and some of an altar, whereby dissension is perceived to arise among the unlearned; therefore wishing a godly unity to be observed in all our diocese, and for that the form of a table may more move and turn the simple from the old superstitious opinions of the popish Mass, and to the right use of the Lord's Supper, we exhort the curates, churchwardens, and questmen here present, to erect and set up the Lord's Board after the form of an honest table, decently covered, in such place of the quire or chancel as shall be thought

most meet by their discretion and agreement, so that the ministers, with the communicants, may have their place separated from the rest of the people; and to take down and abolish all other by-altars or tables.

vi. From the Conference in the Tower, 1553 or '4. *Works*, 161, 162.

"Sir, methinks it is not charitably done to bear the people in hand that any man doth so lightly esteem the Sacrament as to make of it but a figure. For that maketh it a bare figure without any more profit; which that book [Cranmer's] doth often deny; as appeareth to the reader most plainly. . . As for me, I make no less of the Sacrament than this; I say, whosoever receiveth the Sacrament, he receiveth therewith life or death."

Then said Master Pope, . . "How can it bring (as ye say) either life or death, when Christ's Body is not there?"

"Sir," quoth I, "when ye hear God's Word truly preached, if ye do believe it and abide in it, ye shall and do receive life withal; and if ye do not believe it, it doth bring unto you death: and yet Christ's Body is still in heaven, and not carnal—in every preacher's mouth."

"I pray you tell me," quoth he, "how you can answer to this; *Quod pro vobis tradetur?* Was the figure of Christ's Body given for us?"

"No, Sir," quoth I, "but the very Body itself, whereof the Sacrament is a Sacramental figure."

"How say ye then," quoth he, "to *Quod pro vobis tradetur?*"

"Forsooth," quoth I, "Tertullian's exposition maketh

it plain; for he saith, *Corpus est figura corporis*. Now put to *Quod pro vobis tradetur*; and it agreeth exceeding well."

* * * * *

"What," quoth Master Chomley, late Chief Justice, "doth not Christ say plainly that it is His very flesh, and His very blood, and we must needs have Him, or we can have no life?" "Sir," quoth I, "if you will hear how St Augustine expoundeth that place, ye shall perceive that ye are in a wrong box." And when I began to tell St Augustine's mind in his book *De Doctrina Christiana*,¹ "Yea, yea," quoth Master Secretary, "that is true; St Augustine doth take it figuratively indeed."

vii. From the Disputation at Oxford, April 1554.
Works, 194, &c.

He answers the question, "Whether the natural Body of Christ our Saviour, conceived of the Virgin Mary, and offered for man's redemption on the Cross, is verily and really in the Sacrament by virtue of God's Word spoken by the priests?"

Answer. "There is ambiguity in this word 'really,' whether it be to be taken as the logicians term it *transcender*, that is, most generally; and so it may signify any manner of thing that belongeth to the Body of Christ, by any means; after which sort we also grant Christ's Body to be really in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; . . . or whether it be taken to signify the very same thing, having body, life and soul, which was assumed and taken of the Word of God into unity of

¹ iii. § 16.

Person. In which same, since the Body of Christ is really in heaven, because of the true manner of His Body, it may not be said to be here in the earth."

* * * * *

"But now, my brethren, think not, because I disallow that presence which the first proposition maintaineth (as a presence which I take to be forged, phantastical, and, beside the authority of God's Word, perniciously brought into the Church by the Romanists), that I therefore go about to take away the true presence of Christ's Body in His Supper rightly and duly administered, which is grounded upon the Word of God, and made more plain by the commentaries of the faithful Fathers. They that think so of me, the Lord knoweth how far they are deceived. And to make the same evident unto you, I will in few words declare, what true presence of Christ's Body in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper I hold and affirm, with the Word of God and the ancient Fathers.

"I say and confess with the Evangelist Luke, and with the Apostle Paul, that the bread on the which thanks are given, is the Body of Christ in the remembrance of Him and His death, to be set forth perpetually of the faithful until His coming.

"I say and confess, the bread which we break to be the communion and partaking of Christ's Body, with the ancient and the faithful Fathers.

"I say and believe, that there is not only a signification of Christ's Body set forth by the Sacrament, but also that therewith is given to the godly and faithful the grace of Christ's Body, that is, the food of life and immortality. And this I hold with Cyprian.

"I say also with St Augustine, that we eat life and

we drink life; with Enissene, that we feel the Lord to be present in grace; with Athanasius, that we receive celestial food, which cometh from above; the property of natural communion, with Hilary; the nature of flesh, and benediction which giveth life, in bread and wine, with Cyril; and with the same Cyril, the virtue of the very Flesh of Christ, life and grace of His Body, the property of the Only Begotten, that is to say, life; as He Himself in plain words expoundeth it.

"I confess also with Basil, that we receive the mystical advent and coming of Christ, grace and the virtue of His very Nature; the Sacrament of His very Flesh, with Ambrose; the Body by grace, with Epiphanius; spiritual Flesh, but not that which was crucified, with Jerome; grace flowing into a sacrifice, and the grace of the Spirit, with Chrysostom; grace and invisible verity, grace and society of the members of Christ's Body, with Augustine.

"Finally, with Bertram (who was the last of all these) I confess that Christ's Body is in the Sacrament in this respect; namely, as he writeth, because there is in it the Spirit of Christ, that is, the power of the Word of God, which not only feedeth the soul, but also cleanseth it. Out of these I suppose it may clearly appear unto all men, how far we are from that opinion whereof some go about falsely to slander us to the world, saying, we teach that the godly and faithful should receive nothing else at the Lord's Table but a figure of the Body of Christ."

* * * * *

"I know that all these places of the Scripture are avoided by two manner of subtle shifts: the one is, by the distinction of the bloody and unbloody sacrifice, as though our unbloody sacrifice of the Church were any

other than the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, than a commemoration, a shewing-forth and a sacramental representation of that one only bloody Sacrifice, offered up once for all. The other is, by depraving and wresting the sayings of the ancient Fathers unto such a strange kind of sense as the Fathers themselves indeed never meant. For what the meaning of the Fathers was, it is evident by that which St Augustine writeth in his epistle to Boniface, and in his book against Faustus the Manichee, besides many other places; likewise by Eusebius the Emissene, Cyprian, Chrysostom, Fulgentius, Bertram, and others, who do wholly concord and agree together in this unity in the Lord; that the redemption, once made in verity for the salvation of man continueth in full effect for ever, and worketh without ceasing unto the end of the world; that the sacrifice once offered cannot be consumed; that the Lord's death and passion is as effectual, the virtue of that Blood once shed as fresh at this day for the washing away of sins, as it was even the same day that it flowed out of the blessed side of our Saviour; and finally, that the whole substance of our sacrifice, which is frequented of the Church in the Lord's Supper, consisteth in prayers, praise, and giving of thanks, and in remembering and shewing forth of that Sacrifice once offered upon the altar of the Cross; that the same might continually be had in reverence by mystery, which once only, and no more, was offered for the price of our redemption.

* * * * *

“Christ . . . both took up His Flesh with Him ascending up, and also did leave the same behind Him with us, but after a diverse manner and respect. He took His

Flesh with Him, after the true and corporal substance of His Body and His Flesh ; again, He left the same in mystery to the faithful in the Supper, to be received after a spiritual communication, and by grace. Neither is the same received in the Supper only, but also at other times, by hearing the Gospel, and by faith."

* * * * *

"He that sitteth there, is here present in mystery, and by grace ; and is holden of the godly, such as communicate Him, not only sacramentally, with the hand of the body, but, much more wholesomely, with the hand of the heart ; and by inward drinking is received ; but by the sacramental signification He is holden of all men."

* * * * *

"I grant bread to be converted and turned into the Flesh of Christ ; but not by transubstantiation, but by sacramental converting and turning. 'It is transformed,' saith Theophylact, 'by a mystical benediction, and by the accession or coming of the Holy Ghost unto the Flesh of Christ.'"

Weston. "Ye say, Christ gave not His Body, but a figure of His Body."

Ridley. "I say not so : I say He gave His own Body verily ; but He gave it by a real effectual and spiritual communication."

* * * * *

Glynn : "The Church hath ever worshipped the Flesh of Christ in the Eucharist :

"But the Church hath never been idolatrous."¹

¹ Ridley had owned this "in respect of the whole," but not "in respect of some part thereof."

“Ergo, It hath alway judged the flesh of Christ to be in the Eucharist.”

Ridley: “And I also worship Christ in the Sacrament, but not because He is included in the Sacrament ; like as I worship Christ also in the Scriptures ; not because He is really included in them. Notwithstanding I say, that the Body of Christ is present in the Sacrament, but yet sacramentally and spiritually (according to His grace) giving life, and in that respect really, that is according to His benediction, giving life.”

* * * * *

“We do handle the signs reverently, but we worship the Sacrament as a Sacrament, not as a Thing signified by the Sacrament.”

Glynn. “Ergo we worship bread.”

Ridley. “There is a deceit in this word *adoramus*. We worship the symbols when reverently we handle them. We worship Christ whenever we perceive His benefits ; but we understand His benefit to be greatest in the Sacrament.”

* * * * *

“The Blood of Christ is in the chalice indeed, but not in the real presence, but by grace, and in a Sacrament.”

Weston. “That is very well. Then we have Blood in the chalice.”

Ridley. “It is true ; but by grace, and in a Sacrament.”

(Here the people hissed at him.)

* * * * *

“True it is that grace is given by the Sacraments ; but as by an instrument. The inward virtue, and Christ, give the grace through the Sacrament.

* * * * *

"The society or conjunction with Christ through the Holy Ghost is grace; and by [Latin, *per*] the Sacrament we are made the members of the mystical Body of Christ; for that by the Sacrament the part of the Body is grafted in the Head."

* * * * *

"As he that eateth and he that drinketh unworthily the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, even so he that eateth and drinketh worthily eateth and drinketh life.

"Every Sacrament hath graces annexed unto it instrumentally; but there is divers understanding of this word *habet*, 'hath': for the Sacrament hath not grace included in it; but to those that receive it well, it is turned to grace (*cedit in gratiam*)."

* * * * *

Pie. "A council says that the priest doth offer an unbloody sacrifice of the Body of Christ."

Ridley. "I say it is well said, if it be rightly understood . . . It is called unbloody, and is offered after a certain manner, and in a mystery, and as a representation of that bloody Sacrifice; and he doth not lie who saith Christ to be offered."

* * * * *

"We behold with the eye of faith Him present after grace, and spiritually set upon the Table; and we worship Him who sitteth above."

viii. From the Last Examination, Sept. 1554. *Works*, 275, &c.

"Christ, as St Paul writeth, made one perfect Sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, neither can any man

reiterate that Sacrifice of His ; and yet is the Communion an acceptable sacrifice to God of praise and thanksgiving. But to say that thereby sins are taken away (which wholly and perfectly was done by Christ's Passion, of the which the Communion is only a memory), that is a great derogation of the merits of Christ's Passion ; for the Sacrament was instituted that we, receiving it, and thereby recognizing and remembering His Passion, should be partakers of the merits of the same. For otherwise doth this Sacrament take upon it the office of Christ's Passion, whereby it might follow that Christ died in vain."

* * * * *

"Both you and I agree herein, that in the Sacrament is the very true and natural Body and Blood of Christ, even that which was born of the Virgin Mary, which ascended into heaven, which sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, which shall come from thence to judge the quick and the dead ; only we differ *in modo*, in the way and manner of being : we confess all one thing to be in the Sacrament, and dissent in the manner of being there. I, being fully by God's Word thereunto persuaded, confess Christ's natural Body to be in the Sacrament indeed by spirit and grace, because that whosoever receiveth worthily that bread and wine receiveth effectuously Christ's Body, and drinketh His Blood (that is, he is made effectually partaker of His Passion) ; and you make a grosser kind of being, enclosing a natural, a lively, and a moving body, under the shape or form of bread and wine. Now, this difference considered, to the question thus I answer, that in the Sacrament of the altar is the natural Body and Blood of Christ *vere et realiter*, indeed and really, for spiritually, by grace and efficacy ; for so

every worthy receiver receiveth the very true Body of Christ. But if you mean really and indeed, so that thereby you would include a lively and a moveable body under the forms of bread and wine, then, in that sense, is not Christ's Body in the Sacrament really and indeed."

* * * * *

"Always my protestation¹ reserved, I answer thus; that in the Sacrament is a certain change, in that that bread which was before common bread is now made a lively presentation of Christ's Body, and not only a figure, but effectuously representeth His Body; that even as the mortal body was nourished by that visible bread, so is the internal soul fed with the heavenly food of Christ's Body, which the eyes of faith see, as the bodily eyes see only bread. Such a sacramental mutation I grant to be in the bread and wine, which truly is no small change, but such a change as no mortal man make, but only that omnipotency of Christ's word."

* * * * *

Dr Ridley, smiling, answered: "Your lordship is not ignorant that this word *altare* in Scripture signifieth as well the altar whereupon the Jews were wont to make their burnt sacrifices as the Table of the Lord's Supper. . . . [But] as for the taking down of the altars, it was done upon just considerations, for that they seemed to come too nigh to the Jews' usage; neither was the Supper of the Lord at any time better ministered, or more duly received, than in those latter days when all things were brought to the rules and usage of the primitive Church."

¹ Against the papal authority represented by the Commissioners.

ix. From the first *Farewell*, Oct. 1555. *Works*, 401.

“In the stead of the Lord’s holy Table they give the people, with much solemn disguising, a thing which they call their Mass ; but in deed and in truth it is a very masking and mockery of the true Supper of the Lord, or rather I may call it a crafty juggling whereby these false thieves and jugglers have bewitched the minds of the simple people, that they have brought them from the true worship of God unto pernicious idolatry ; and make them to believe that to be Christ our Lord and Saviour, which indeed is neither God nor man, nor hath any life in itself, but in substance is the creature of bread and wine, and in use of the Lord’s Table is the Sacrament of Christ’s Body and Blood ; and for this holy use, for the which the Lord hath ordained them in His Table to represent unto us His blessed Body torn upon the Cross for us and His Blood there shed, it pleased Him to call them His Body and Blood ; which understanding Christ declareth to be His true meaning, when He saith, ‘Do this in remembrance of Me.’ And again, St Paul likewise doth set out the same more plainly, speaking of the same Sacrament after the words of the consecration, saying, ‘As often as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall set forth (he meaneth, with the same) the Lord’s death until His coming again.’ And here again these thieves have robbed also the people of the Lord’s Cup, contrary to the plain words of Christ written in His Gospel.”

* * * * *

“Why dost thou daily delude the people, masking in

thy masses,¹ in the stead of the Lord's holy Supper? . . . Thy God, which is the work of thy hands, cannot deliver thee."

¹ He is addressing "the See of London." It is interesting to note in these last extracts the equivalent use of the words "Mass" and "Masses." For a learned discussion of some modern theories of the significance of the word "Masses" in our Art. xxxi., see a tractate by the Rev. N. Dimock *Dangerous Deceits* (E. Stock, 1895).

It is no part of my purpose to discuss the extracts here collected. I have placed them together for the reader's own inspection, aiming to make the collection carefully impartial. It would be easy to point out some discrepancies of thought, or at least of expression, as the various utterances are compared in detail. But I think it will be apparent on the whole that the Bishop was fully aware of the deep and essential contrast between an altar-sacrifice, offered God-ward, and a Sacrament, delivered from God man-ward, and that he found the latter and not the former in the Scriptural account of the Holy Communion.

APPENDIX V

WYCLIF ON THE EUCHARIST

MORE than once¹ Wyclif has been mentioned in these pages. It may not be out of place to transcribe a few representative sentences from his *Tractatus Major de Eucharistia*, first printed (by the Wyclif Society, under the editorship of Dr Johann Loserth and Mr F. D. Matthew) in 1892 :

Homo non videt Corpus Christi in Eucharistia oculo corporali (p. 1). *Notat distinctionem inter prædicationem identicam et tropicam* (p. 2). *Novella Ecclesia ponit transubstantiationem; et antiqua Ecclesia, æque vel magis authentica, ipsam negat* (p. 3). *Transubstantiatio non est fundabilis in Scriptura. . . . Accidentia non possunt per se esse. . . . Verba Christi quibus hoc sacramentum conficitur figurative debent intelligi. . . . Dicitur communiter: Figura hujus rei habet efficaciam efficienter causandi non corpus Christi sed quandam ejus præsentiam sacramentum sensibile concomitantem. . . . Non est credendum homini² in materia fidei nisi de quanto dictum suum docuerit ex Scriptura* (p. 9) . . . [*Verbum*] *Hoc figurat*

¹ See above, 183, 198, &c.

² He has Innocent III. in view.

sacramentaliter corpus Christi (p. 291) . . . [*Transubstantiationis opinio*] *tropicat utrumque extremum* [*in verbis institutionis*]; *sed nos tantum alterum* (p. 296) . . . *In-finita sunt talia argumenta propter quæ dicit Catholicus quod corpus Christi est ibi virtualiter et in signo, non corpus Christi ut est en cælo sed signum ejus vicarium* (p. 303).

APPENDIX VI

JOH. FERUS ON SPIRITUAL EATING

I TRANSLATE the following passage from the Commentary on St Matthew (xxvi.), written by Johannes Ferus, monk and presbyter of the Franciscan Order, and preacher at Mainz. He is now nearly forgotten, but in his day, the middle of the sixteenth century, he had a great reputation. E. Leigh (*Treatise of Religion and Learning*, London, 1656; a useful book, dedicated to Ussher) calls him (p. 196) "the famousest preacher that was in Mentz, or in Germany, in all his time;" his commentaries upon St John were at least eight times printed in ten years. And Leigh quotes Sixtus Senensis (*Biblioth. Sanct., lib. 4*) as saying that he was *vir in divinis litteris nobiliter doctus, eloquentia singulari præditus, cui parem in officio evangelicæ prædicationis catholicæ Germanorum Ecclesiæ hac nostra tempestate non habent.*

My extract is taken from a folio, in the library of the Bishop of Liverpool, who long ago drew my attention to the spiritual greatness of Ferus' com-

ments on St John. The exposition of St Matthew was published in 1559, after the writer's death, at Mainz (*Moguntia*). It is dedicated to the Emperor Ferdinand, and bears the "privilege" of the *Cæsarea majestas* and of Henry, King of France. The title-page describes the comments as *non minus eruditæ quam catholicæ*.

It is extremely interesting to read the Franciscan's teaching, and to see how near much of his thought was to that of the Reformed Christians of his day.

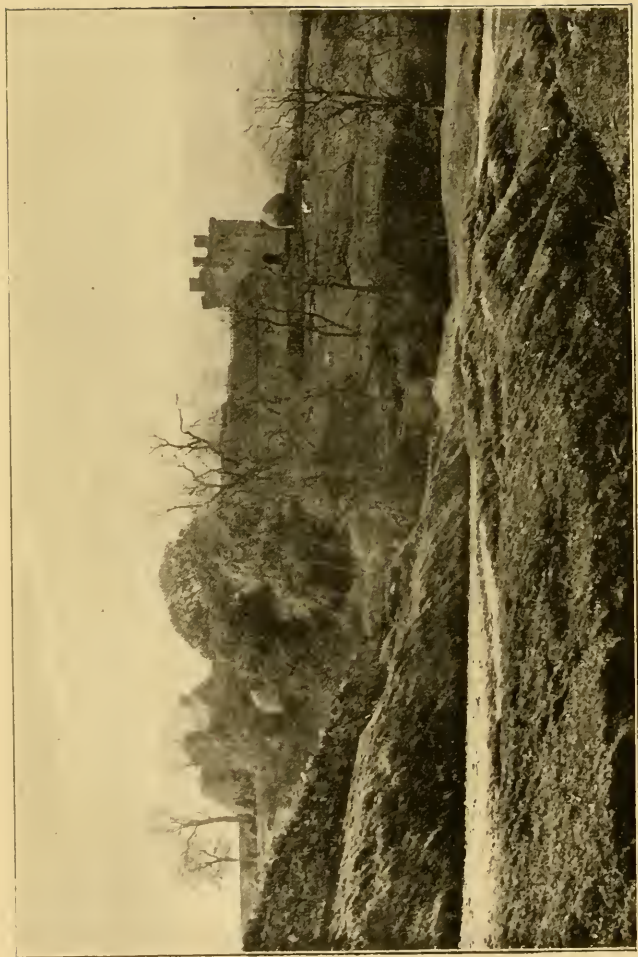
The bread is of no avail unless it be eaten. . . . Then feelst thou the virtue of the bread, when thou embodiest it in thyself; then perceivest thou the blessings of Christ, when thou takest Him into thyself. But how is Christ eaten? In two ways is He offered to us, even in Word and in Sacrament: in two ways therefore is His Body eaten, even spiritually and sacramentally. What it is to eat spiritually Christ's Body, that is to say, when He is offered in the Word, He hath Himself explained, when He saith, "He that cometh to me shall not hunger, and he that believeth in me shall not thirst." Therefore to eat His Body spiritually is from thy heart to believe that Christ was made Man, and transferred thy sins upon Himself, and for thee shed His Blood, and overcame hell, and reconciled thee to God. He who thus believeth, by faith, in a certain manner, he seizeth Christ, and passeth Christ into himself (*Christum in se trajicit*), and becometh one body with Him; whereby it

cometh about that he hungereth not in his sins, because he hath Christ's righteousness, nor in death, because he hath Christ's life, nor in curse, because he hath Christ's blessing, nor in affliction, because through Christ he seeth deliverance.

This spiritual eating is necessary for all; without this no man is saved. For unless we have part in Christ's righteousness and His life, what do we but remain in our sins? Wherefore Christ saith, "Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, ye shall not have life in you." He speaketh not there of the Sacrament; ¹ for not all are condemned who take not the Sacrament, or have not taken it. He speaketh of spiritual eating, that is, of faith in Christ, without which no man shall see God. In this manner even the fathers of the Old Testament did eat the Body of Christ; for Christ was offered to them also in the Word and promises. . . . These promises they who truly received, did truly eat spiritually Christ's Body. Without this spiritual eating the Sacrament profiteth nothing, nay rather it hurteth and condemneth, because it is unworthily taken.

Secondarily, Christ is offered to us in the Sacrament, which is done to this end, that by this outward Sign we may be admonished of the promises, and may be certified by this bodily eating that in very deed Christ is given unto us with all His treasures (*cum omnibus quæ habet*).

¹ In his comment on Joh. vi. Ferus develops this statement at length and emphatically.



WILLIMOTESWYKE—BIRTHPLACE OF BISHOP RIDLEY.

ADDENDA

IN printing this book circumstances obliged me to put the chief part of the proofs at once into page form. Some fresh materials, collected as the work went on, were not easy of insertion into proofs already paged; they are accordingly placed together here.

I. *Ridley's Birthplace and Family* (p. 1).

I have been favoured by Mrs Kendal, of Humshaugh, in Tynedale, a member of the Ridley family, with the following extracts from Mackenzie's *History of Northumberland*, ii. 312, &c. :

"Willimoteswick, the mote and villa of William,¹ is situated near the Tyne, a short distance west from Ridley Hall. This ruined fortified residence of the Ridleys [Willimoteswick] stands on a rising ground and commands a view of the adjoining country. It was the seat of Sir Nicholas Ridley, who was high sheriff of Northumberland, 1, 2, 3, and 23 King Henry VII., and 1, 2, and 3 King Henry VIII." Was this the father of the Bishop? "It was also the seat of Sir Nicholas Ridley, knight, 12 Queen Elizabeth, then high sheriff of North-

¹ I give this derivation along with that quoted p. 1, not attempting to discuss the question.

umberland . . . likewise of Richard Ridley, Esq., high sheriff . . . 12th of the same reign."

"The Ridleys of Willimoteswick, says Wallis, seem to have been a family of *literati* and divines. Three of them were Rectors of the parish of Simonburn, [in the valley of the North Tyne,] viz. Robert Ridley, D.D., nominated 1510, [the Bishop's uncle and patron,] John Ridley, 1532, and Cuthbert Ridley, 1635."

Further extracts are from Hodgson's *History of Northumberland*:

"1450. Nicholas Ridley of Willimoteswick married Anne, dau. to John Lawson (Flower) . . . Nicholas son of [the Bishop's brother] Hugh married Mabel, dau. of Sir Philip Dacre of Morpeth; his will is dated 1573. . . . The father of Ridley the martyr was Christopher, third son of Nicholas Ridley of Willimoteswick, by Mary, daughter of Thomas Curwen, of Workington." I give the last sentence as it stands. In a sentence a little previous, Dr R. Ridley (the Bishop's uncle) is called "brother of *Sir Nicholas Ridley of Willimoteswick*, and of Christopher Ridley of Unthank." If the Bishop was indeed the son of Christopher his birth at Willimoteswick (which seems to be certain, for Turner¹ would surely know this from the Bishop) happened during a visit of his mother's to her brother-in-law's home. Cooper (*Ath. Cantab.* i. 354) remarks on the imperfect state in which the records of the Ridley family have come down to us.

It may be remarked (see p. 4) that Ridley would not have been influenced in favour of the foreign Reformers by his uncle Robert, who was a commissioner (1520) to

¹ *Works*, 492.

examine Luther's writings, and joined in condemning them to be burnt as heretical. See Cooper, *Annals*, i. 303, 304. The Proctor's accounts record that £5 6s. 8d. were allowed to Drs Watson and Ridley for their expenses in this business.

Ridley mentions another relative, or however clansman, in his letter to Grindal (*Works*, 391): "My dear friend Thomas Ridley, of the Bull Head in Cheape, which was to me the most faithful friend that I had in my trouble, is departed also unto God."

My brother, Mr H. J. Moule, of Dorchester, writes to me (May 6, 1895), enclosing a water-colour sketch of Willimoteswick: "The interest of Willimoteswick to my thinking is quite extraordinary. The gate-tower probably, and the oldest part of the house certainly, were familiar to Ridley. Then the nature of the place is most remarkable. It seems to be the remains of a farm, or manor-stead, built to be defensible against border raids. I was told by the tenant's daughter, Miss Sprake, that she had heard that the turrets, of oblong plan, are unique in England, but that several similar examples are known in Norway. They seem certainly to have been watch-towers and for beacon-fires, when a raid was feared."

2. *Ridley's First Degree* (p. 4).

I have lately, with the kind help of the Master of Pembroke, and of the Registry of the University, Mr J. W. Clark, ascertained the exact date of Ridley's degree of Bachelor of Arts, and his place in the list of "Wranglers." Some doubt was supposed to attach to both questions; but the results are now certain.

In two Degree Lists, in the *Ordo Senioritatis*, in the years 152 $\frac{1}{2}$, 152 $\frac{3}{4}$, the name *Rydley* occurs among the Wranglers. The *Rydley* of 152 $\frac{1}{2}$ is fourth Wrangler out of forty-one. The order is

Ds Bland
Ds Chayney
Ds Sherwode
Ds Rydley

The *Rydley* of 152 $\frac{3}{4}$ is twenty-ninth wrangler. In that list Bradford¹ is eleventh wrangler and Rogers seventeenth. The question *which* *Rydley* was Nicholas, of Pembroke, is settled by the "graces" for the degrees, written below the lists. "Nicholas *Rydley*" is named in the graces for 152 $\frac{1}{2}$, and was therefore the fourth wrangler of that year. The *Rydley* of 152 $\frac{3}{4}$ must have been Lancelot, of Clare, son of the Bishop's uncle John; afterwards D.D. and one of the Six Preachers of Canterbury.

3. *Langdale's Reply to Ridley* (p. 15).

This was a reply, as I have said, not to the *Brief Declaration* but, to the Determination at Cambridge. The title-page is as follows: *Catholica Confutatio impie cujusdam Determinationis D. Nicolai Ridlei, eo tempore sedem Episcopalem apud Roffam occupantis, post disputationem de Eucharistia in Academia Cantabrigiensi habitam, in tres libros divisa. Authore Albano Langdailo Archidiacono Cicestriensi apud Anglos . . . Lutetie, ex officina Michaelis Vascosani, via Iacobæa, ad insigne Fontis.*

¹ Not the martyr, John Bradford. He entered the University some years later.

M.D.LVI. *Cum privilegio Regis*. It is dedicated to Anthony Brown, Viscount Montacute. Langdale gives Ridley's Determination *in extenso*, in Latin; it agrees with the English version in the *Works*.

4. *The name of the Oxford City Prison* (p. 34).

Since writing the note, p. 34, I have examined Ant. à Wood's *City of Oxford*, as edited (1889) for the Oxford Historical Society, (whose series is a humiliation to Cambridge antiquaries). In vol. i. 59, 255, 259, à Wood writes of the great north gate of Oxford, Bocardo, and says that it was by far the strongest and most massive. But in due time "halcion days appeared, and this place, for want of use, fell into the hands of the Mayor and baillives, who after made it a common prison for debtors and malefactors belonging to their owne city, which for the same use continueth to this day; and a prison for scollers for little faults." He discusses the name Bocardo, "Syllogisticum illud τεχνολόγημα." In law, he says, Brocardo or Brocardia is *materia contentiosa*; perhaps then this *gate*, as in Scripture, was the place of litigation and judgment, and so got its name. Again, it may have been used as a library; for Anglo-Saxon scholars say that *bochord* means *bibliotheca*. These conjectures "I shall leave your sower criticks in antiquities to chew upon; and proceede onward."

No trace of the Bocardo now remains, except a doorway, reputed to be the door of a chamber where the Three Martyrs were confined; it is built into the Church of St Mary Magdalene, near the site of the prison.

5. *Cambridge Doctors at Oxford* (p. 34).

The *Registrum Universitatis Oxoniensis* has been edited (by the late Rev. C. W. Boase) for the Oxford Historical Society. Vol. i. 224 gives a record which is interesting in connexion with the Disputation of April 1554. The following Cambridge men were incorporated Doctors in Divinity, April 14, just before the Disputation :

John Yong, John Seton, William Glynne, Richard Atkynson, Thomas Watson, Cuthbert Scot, Thomas Segewyke, Alban Langdale. The latter was ill, and unable to attend and take the oath.

Ibidem, p. 229, I find the record of the incorporation as Doctor of "Peter Sotho." Soto was the Spanish theologian with whom, as one account says, Cranmer was occupied when his brethren walked past Bocardo to the fire, Oct. 16.

6. *Ridley's Shorter Account of the Disputation* (p. 36).

I have examined this (Latin) report in two copies, comparing them *verbatim*. One, as I have stated, the copy in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is in MS.¹ It is certainly not in Ridley's hand, and it bears other internal evidence of transcription : at one point the writer leaves a blank, as if unable to decipher his original. This is in a sentence where the other copy reads, *de David spirituali qui Goliath Diabolum prostravit*; the last three words were apparently illegible to the scribe of the C. C. C. manuscript. The handwriting, if I

¹ It is printed, but not at length, in Ridley's *Works*, 483—485, and is collated there with the longer Latin report.

may venture an opinion, bespeaks a scribe of Ridley's own time; perhaps it was Augustine Berneher. It seems to be written in some haste, with much abbreviation of words. The other copy is one of the documents printed by Gilbert Ironside (see above, 85) with the *Brief Declaration*, in 1688, from "the manuscripts found in his father's¹ study." It is obviously identical in substance, and in scale, with the C. C. C. MS., but has marks of independence. Unimportant variations, *e. g.* in the order of noun and adjective, and in the mode of bringing in names, and references to authors, are frequent. It is curious that while in the printed copy several utterances are put down to *Quidam incognitus*, *Alius incognitus*, *Alius nescio quis*, these are always (I think) assigned in the MS. to *Harfsfield*, whose name is frequent in the longer report. The two copies have each its own conclusion. The MS. has what is evidently the Latin original, or nearly so, of Bradford's English, in his rendering of the longer report, printed in the *Works*, 251, 252. It is as follows: *Post disputationem cum Ridleo Westonus hæc habuit verba. Vidistis, viri frates, præfractum hominis inimici (?) animum, vidistis obstinatam audaciam. Vidistis inexpugnabilem, illabefactatam, inconcussam, victricem veritatem. Vestrae ergo partes erunt hæresis . . . prædicare, victoriamque veritati tribuere, et pleno applausu clamare, Vicit Veritas.*

The printed copy has, nearly verbatim, the conclusion given in the *Works* (479) to the *Latin* of the longer

¹ Gilbert Ironside's father (see à Wood, *Ath. Oxon.*) bore the same name. He was B.A. 1608, and became Bishop of Bristol 1669. He was previously Rector of Winterbourne Steepleton and Winterbourne Abbas, in Dorset.

report, from *Sub finem D. Prolocutor to disputatio*. And it appends, what the MS. lacks, the passage there appended in the *Works*, headed *Ridleys ad Lectorem*.

The reports (longer and shorter) contain Ridley's notice of his painful passage with Glynn, President of Queens'. I translate it from the printed copy of the shorter report :

"D. Glyn spoke, after an abusive little preface (*post contumeliosam præfatiunculam*), which I confess I bore the more heavily because I have always held him for a tried old friend (*pro veterano amico*). But because he only wished, I suppose, to play his part (*scenæ inservire*), and afterwards, coming to the house in which I was detained, asked my pardon for his words, in the presence of Young, I think, and Ogelthorpe, [President of Magdalene, Oxford,] I forgive him from my soul, and I wish him a clear knowledge, in the Lord, of the purity of the Gospel (*evangelicæ sinceritatis*), and I pray that another day, not his sins only but those of us all being forgiven, we may meet, fully reconciled, in the heavenly Father's house. But he formed his argument thus, &c."

7. *Early issues of the Brief Declaration* (p. 83).

Since writing the description of the Pembroke College copy (A) of the *Editio Princeps*, a copy of the same date has come into my own possession by the generous kindness of friends. It corresponds with practical exactness to A in its text, and very nearly but not exactly in the arrangement and wording of the marginal notes, and also in the words contained in the corresponding pages. Like A it has no pagination and has *custodes* or catch-words.

And like A it gives no place or press ; only "*Anno 1555.*" On the other hand its spelling is not that of A, and its type is quite different. Roman type is used only a few times ; on the title-page, in the words A brief declaracion and Anno ; on the *verso* of the same leaf, in the words To the Reader, and in the (large) capital V of the word *Vnderstande* next following ; and in the (large) capital M of the first word of the *Declaration* itself. The black-letter of the main body of the text is (I am told) apparently English in its character. In the quotations in the text, where A almost always uses roman type, my copy almost always uses "gothic." For the margins always, and for Latin words in the text almost always¹, and for proper names (but here not invariably¹), my copy uses italics. The first and last few sentences of the *Declaration* run thus in this copy, as to spelling and arrangement of lines :

(1) Many thynges confounde | a weake memorie : a fewe | places well weighed and | perceaved lyghten the un | derstādyng. Truthe is ther to be sear | ched, wher it is certayne to be hade.

(2) For Christ hym selfe sayeth unto his | father : *Thy Worde is truthe.*² The | loue and light wherof almigh | tie God our heauenly father | geve us, & lyghten it in | our heartes by his ho | ly spirite, through | Jesus Christ our | Lorde. Amen. | *Vincit Veritas.*³

This copy has evidently a close connexion with A, but

¹ *E.g.* the names of the Fathers quoted in the latter part of the *Declaration* are always in black-letter, except *Gelasius* (E 6). On D 7 (*verso*) the quasi-name *Orthodoxus* is once in italics, once in black-letter.

² Here the type is gothic.

³ Here the type is italic.

it is certainly not from the same press. If, as experts inform me, the type bespeaks England, we are yet almost driven to conclude that the work was done abroad with an English fount, conveyed away in the evil days of Mary, and used on the Continent in comparative safety. All the hints we have of the literary fortunes of the *Declaration* seem to shew that the MS. was carried as quickly as possible out of England, to be printed elsewhere.

The copy of an Edition of 1555, preserved in the British Museum (698. a, 16 (2)) see above, 84, proves to agree exactly with my own copy; beyond doubt the two came from the same press at the same time. In the Museum Catalogue the word "*Geneva?*" is placed against it. It is bound up with Ridley and Latimer's *Conferences*; these are marked 1556, but are placed first in the volume as bound.

To the description (p. 84) of the Museum copy of the issue of 1556 (published with the *Conferences*) I may add that a copy of this issue has lately come into my possession; it appears to correspond exactly with the Museum copy. It is 8vo; without place or press; the leaves are numbered (on the *recto*), the last printed page (leaf 67 *recto*) being occupied by the last 21 words of the *Declaration* (*Vincit Veritas* does not appear), and by a list of "Fautes escaped in printing, and to be corrected, as foloweth." *Custodes* appear on all the *verso* pages, and on the *recto* of 14, 39, 54—56, 62—64. The type is identical with the "gothic" used in the quotations in my copy of 1555. The margins, and the quotations from the Evangelists and St Paul in the early pages, are in roman; W is represented by Vu. The stops

used are the full stop, and a short slanting line for the comma.

In this edition the *Declaration* (which begins on the verso of 36) has no address "to the Reader," and is entitled *A treatise agaĩst the errour | of transubstantiation, made by | the fornamed Reverende father Nic. | Rydley Byshop of London, in | the time of his emprison | mente.*

8. *Reprint of the Brief Declaration, 1688 (p. 86).*

Since writing the Introduction to the *Brief Declaration* I have examined in the British Museum the reprint of it described by Tanner (*Bibl. Britt. Hib.*, 631) as *cum præfatione Henrici Whartoni*; though the name does not appear. It is a thin quarto volume, and contains other kindred matter; *inter alia*, extracts from Poynt's *Diallacticon* (above, 271). The title-page is as follows: *A Brief Declaration of the Lord's Supper, written by Dr Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London, during his Imprisonment; with some other Determinations and Disputations concerning the same Argument by the same Author; to which is annexed an Extract of several passages to the same Purpose out of a Book intituled Diallacticon, written by Dr John Poynt, Bishop of Winchester, in the Reigns of E. VI. and Q. Mary. London. Printed for Ric. Chiswell at the Rose and Crown in St Paul's Churchyard, MDCLXXXVIII.*

The text of the *Declaration* in this Edition is stated to be a reprint of that of the London edition of 1586 (described above, 85). The occasion of this republication is explained in the Preface. The Anglicans of 1688 had been loudly charged in certain quarters with a divergence from the eucharistic teaching of the Reformers;

it was alleged that the Reformers had varied but a little from the doctrine of Transubstantiation, while the later teachers had completely repudiated it. This representative writing of the Reformer whose doctrinal weight was greatest was now published to evince the profound difference between the Reformation doctrine and the medieval—a difference which could not have been trifling, for it cost the Reformers their lives.

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